Marxism Today

October 1986 95p

Interview with David Steel

25 Years of The Pill

David Edgar on Tebbit

Interview with Wendy Savage

John Berger

Autumn Styles

Left Unlimited Programme

Labour: Destined for Great Things?

Eric Hobsbawm on Labour's Record

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CND NATIONAL ACTION

MASS TRESPASS

COULPORT

OCT 4

SAY NO! TO TRIDENT

☐ **Yes, I want to help reverse the arms race. Here's my donation for £**_____

Name_____ (BLOCK CAPITALS) **Address**_____

_____

_____ **Post Code**_____ (IMPORTANT)

☐ And, I'll join the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.
Two people at same address £12 ☐ Waged adult £9 ☐
Unwaged adult or Pensioner £2 ☐ Student £3 ☐
Youth (21 or under) £1 ☐ (tick one)

☐ I also want to stay informed. Send me SANITY, CND's monthly magazine £6 a year ☐ Student and unwaged £4 ☐

I enclose

£_____ membership

£_____ Sanity

£_____ donation

MP17

Please make cheques or postal orders payable to CND and send with completed form to: Alison Williams, CND, 22-24 Underwood St, London N1 7JG. 01-250 4010

CND

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

Theoretical and discussion journal of the Communist Party

Editorial Office
16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY
Telephone 01 608 0265

Editor
Martin Jacques

Deputy Editor
Sally Townsend

Design Consultant
Keith Ablitt

Focus
Jane Taylor, David Aaronovitch

Letters
Maria Loftus

Channel 5
Sally Townsend

Channel 5 Choice
Martin Pople, Diane Dixon

Books
Mark Perryman, Mary Braithwaite

Update
Nick Mirzoeff

Closeup
Paul Webster

Business
Jane Critchley

Advertising
Malcolm Clark, Tracy Brabin

Circulation
Paddy Farrington

Editorial Board
Jon Bloomfield, Ros Brunt, Beatrix Campbell, Tricia Davis, David Edgar, Hywel Francis, Katy Gardiner, Stuart Hall, Steve Hart, Jacky Heywood, Eric Hobsbawm, Alan Hunt, Monty Johnstone, Paula Lanning, Betty Matthews, Bert Pearce, Mark Perryman, Dave Priscott, Bob Rowthorn, Vishnu Sharma, Fred Steward, Willy Thompson.

Distribution
Newstrade:
Magnum Distribution Ltd, 22-26 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU

Bookshops:
Central Books Ltd, 14 The Leathermarket London SE1 3ER

Subscriptions:
Magnum Subscriptions Division, Unit 8, Grove Ash, Bletchley, Milton Keynes MK1 1BZ. Tel: 0908 71981

Subscription Rates
for one year
Inland:
individuals £11.40, institutions £16, students one-year introductory rate £7.50, supporting subscribers £25.
Overseas airspeeded:
individuals £20, institutions £26, supporting subscribers £34.

ABC
Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations

Typeset
by Type Generation Ltd

Printed
by Birmingham Printers, Birmingham.

Cover Concept:
Keith Ablitt

Cover Illustration:
Tony McSweeney

Design:
Jan Brown

ISBN 0026-4118
Published by the Communist Party
16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY
© World Copyright October 1986 Marxism Today

FOCUS

2
Big Bang Bonanza:
Revolution is in the air as the City gears up for deregulation at the end of the month. But the chill wind of market forces could blow yet more business away from Britain

3
Changing contours: the legacy of *Henry Moore*

4
Nuclear reactions: the Chernobyl political fallout is landing in unexpected places

5
Phase-out: the liklihood of a major nuclear accident

5
The Pill celebrates its 25th birthday

7
Card carrying students – the banks cash in

7
Phone-tapping: the CND case

BEALINE

9
Beatrix Campbell launches her new monthly column with a sense of *déjà vu* about the new-look Labour Party

LETTERS

11
Trade unions, football, Spanish civil war . . .

FEATURES

12
Labour's Prospects
Past Imperfect, Future Tense
The Labour Party has a real chance of winning the next election. **Eric Hobsbawm** examines its record in government, and asks whether it can learn the lessons of the past

20
Peace in the Battle of the Sexes
Women have played a key role in the peace movement. *Kate Soper* argues that this does not suggest an innate 'feminine' rejection of violence

26
The Importance of Being Liberal

David Steel discusses his party's radicalism, its relationship with the SDP, and what he thinks of the Left

34
The Painful Path to Health
Steve Iliffe argues for a radical restructuring of health care to treat the afflictions facing the NHS

40
Deliverance
Wendy Savage talks about the medical profession and childbirth

CHANNEL 5

44
Conservative chic – Britain's retreat in the style wars

45
Credibility and mystery: **John Berger** writes on the meaning of words

51
Independent's Day: **Andreas Whittam Smith** talks about his hopes for the new quality newspaper to be launched this month

CHANNEL 5 CHOICE

48
Cabaret, lager, Rosa, touring bands

BOOKS

54
Maya Angelou's recollections; UCS work-in; **Sarah Benton** on Elizabeth Wilson; Umberto Eco; plus **briefs**

UPDATE

59
Labour Party fringe meetings

COMMENT

60
Raphael Samuel warns against opening wounds within the Left

CLOSE UP

64
David Edgar on **Norman Tebbit**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Big Bang Bonanza

In many ways the changes to be introduced by 'Big Bang' or deregulation in the City of London on October 27 look less like the harbingers of reform than a belated attempt to haul the London financial markets into the 20th century.

But to the brokers, bankers, jobbers and dealers which dominate the City, Big Bang has been greeted as nothing short of a revolution. Why?

The answer is that although the reforms implemented by Big Bang – opening up the London markets, abolishing fixed commissions on share dealing and enabling foreign financial houses to deal on the Stock Exchange – look mild enough on the surface, to the City they represent the coming of competition to its cosy and cloistered world. Markets which have been monopolised by the same few firms, dealing in the same manner for decades, will suddenly be invaded by a horde of new entrants.

Inevitably the only way to remain competitive will be to cut commissions. If commissions fall then so will profits unless the finance houses can generate enough new business to effect economies of scale and thereby salvage profitability. And the only way to attract that new business will be to cut commissions again. Thus the finance houses will be locked in a competitive cycle.

A parallel problem is posed by the emergence of foreign financial houses in the London securities markets. Institutions like the Japanese securities house, Nomura or US bank, Merrill Lynch, dwarf even the biggest British banks and could, quite simply, price the British banks out of the market.

Even before Big Bang the foreign entrants, especially the Americans, have begun to flex their financial muscles by coaxing bright employees away from City houses with huge salary packages. As a result salaries in the City have soared and many of the British banks and brokers have been priced out of the job market.

Perhaps the most daunting aspect of Big Bang is that no one, least of all the bankers and brokers themselves, knows exactly what will happen to Britain's finance industry afterwards. The only precedent is that of the New York version, Mayday, in 1975.

After Mayday the New York finance houses cut commissions and scrambled for market share. The larger, most powerful houses grew even larger and even more powerful (the 10 biggest companies control 63.2% of capital in New York today compared to 45.8% before Mayday) and the smaller firms collapsed, taking their employees' jobs with them.

But New York after Mayday was cushioned by two crucial expansive forces. First the globalisation of the securities markets which has prompted foreign firms to invest in New York. Second the 'bull run', or rising stockmarket, in New York which has inflated the value of shares.

In London globalisation has taken place at the same time as deregulation, so there will be no future influx of foreign firms to pump money into the market and Big Bang looks likely to coincide with a lacklustre or 'bearish' stockmarket. There will be no cushions for London after deregulation; its finance houses will have to bear the full brunt of competition.

The Thatcher government has made much of Big Bang as a paradigm of market liberalisation. In reality the process of reform which brought about deregulation in the City has been fudge after fudge. Originally, the government intended to force change through legislation to be framed by an Office of Fair Trading investigation into the Stock Exchange's restrictive practices.

But in 1979 Cecil Parkinson, then Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, struck a 'gentlemen's agreement' with Sir Nicholas Goodison, the chairman of the Stock Exchange: the Government would drop the OFT inquiry if the Stock Exchange agreed to introduce deregulation.

The fudges have gone on and on. Not least in the threat that Big Bang could pose to other parts of the Thatcherite deregulation programme.

Enterprise culture, or stimulating small businesses in order that they create new jobs, has been a lynchpin of free mar-

Photo: Mike Abrahams/Network

Big Bang: modernising London's financial markets

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

keteering policy under Mrs Thatcher. The formation of the Unlisted Securities Market (USM) in 1981 as a junior tier to the Stock Exchange from which small companies could raise capital has played an integral role in enterprise culture. Yet after Big Bang the finance houses will concentrate on the larger, more profitable share transactions generated by big companies on the stock exchange to the detriment of small companies. Thus the USM could be starved of capital.

Similarly deregulation threatens to increase the cost of buying and selling shares for private shareholders, chiefly because the finance houses may raise commissions for individuals in order to recoup commissions reduced for the institutions – the pension funds and insurance houses. Yet the government has been trying to cut the cost of share dealing to encourage wider share ownership.

But neither the government nor the City can afford not to deregulate. In the late 1970s and early 1980s London has, slowly but surely, been losing business to the financial markets of Tokyo and New York. The combination of fixed commissions and the arcane structure of the Stock Exchange has meant that trading shares in London was both costly and complex.

Big Bang is a gamble. If it succeeds London will become a more competitive market and may succeed in establishing itself as the third global securities trading centre after New York and Tokyo. If it fails the flow of business away from London will accelerate and with it will go a hefty chunk of GNP.

And both the government and the City have clearly concluded that a public outcry over fraud and soaring salaries for bond dealers is a small, and necessary, price to pay if the gamble pays off. ●

Alice Rawsthorn

Henry Moore: revolutionised the popular view of sculpture

Changing Contours

On August 31 Henry Moore died. He was a great sculptor, recognised and fêted in his lifetime. Much will be written about him now his massive output has ceased.

I recall a radio comedy in the late 1950s – a man having bought a modern sculpture was sending it back because it had a hole in it. Here, along with cartoons and media references, was a cliché in the making.

The 'lump with the hole', no matter how presented, had become a general recognition of 'the object as sculpture' in people's minds. Prior to this, the popular view of sculpture was naturalistic anecdotal tableaux of Victorian detail.

Ironically this gigantic shift in unconscious acceptance was due to media ridicule of Moore's sculpture. To see how this cliché has turned into real individual understanding, pick up a flint or pebble from any sea-shore or river bed and recognise the embryonic Moore sculpture in your hand.

Any live, evolving art form is identified by the constant amendments and additions to its 'language' by its practitioners. Organic form with apparent inner structure is now an accepted part of the formal 'language' of sculpture, and comes entirely from Henry Moore who, without artifice or contrivance, persisted with sculptures that harnessed dynamic animate life with amorphous earth forms.

This is the element in his work that has already passed into the 'life-blood' of sculpture. Many artists have made organic sculpture, but Moore was alone in taking an amorphous continuous-surface form and giving it structure as if it lived and had grown into its contours, rather than being passively eroded.

Through Henry Moore we have learned of the 'object as sculpture', in his sculptures we 'read' the amalgam of dignified human structure and the earth we live on. ●

Glynn Williams

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nuclear Chain Reaction

The effects of the political fallout from last April's explosion at the nuclear power plant at Chernobyl are already promising to be just as widespread as those of the radioactive cloud which wandered across Western Europe during the following 10 days. In particular, the Chernobyl accident has catalysed a growing sense of disenchantment and distrust of nuclear power among Europe's socialist parties.

The West's nuclear industry on both sides of the Atlantic has been desperately trying to stem the ebbing tide of public support, arguing that such an accident could not happen to their own reactors because of important design differences. The Soviet delegation to a post-mortem meeting organised in Vienna in August by the International Atomic Energy Agency appeared to confirm this judgment by shifting its explanation of the accident from 'human error' to design flaws', and promising to introduce changes that would prevent similar events in the future.

Neither move, however, has done much to salvage nuclear energy's decreasing credibility. The accident has had various types of political impact. Countries where doubts about the desirability of nuclear power are already part of official policy have seen these ideas reinforced. Sweden, for example, has seen opposition to nuclear power grow from 42 to 60% of the population over the past five years, and has reconfirmed its plans to close 12 nuclear power plants by the year 2010.

In the Netherlands, a wave of anti-nuclear feeling has persuaded the government to shelve plans announced at the beginning of last year for reactivating a nuclear power programme that was abandoned in the mid-1970s.

In countries which officially remain committed to expanding their nuclear programmes, the Chernobyl accident – just like its predecessor at Three Mile Island in the US – has provided a key focus around which opposition groups have been able to mobilise widespread support.

In West Germany, for example, two major new reports, both of which considerably downgrade the difficulty of getting rid of existing nuclear plants, are causing major embarrassment to the government. Meanwhile the Social Democratic Party, conscious of the continually growing sympathy for the anti-nuclear Greens, decided at a national congress in Nuremburg in August to commit itself to eliminating all nuclear power plants within the next 10 years. This commitment will be included in the platform on which the party will fight the general election next January.

Inspired by the SPD example, the deputy leader of the Italian Socialist Party, Claudio Martelli, returned from the Nuremburg congress with demands that his party should adopt a strongly anti-nuclear position. Included within this is the demand for the withdrawal of Italian participation from the French fast-breeder reactor development programme. The clear popularity of Martelli's stand has led the right-wing Christian Democrats to charge him with electioneering to further split the shaky coalition government.

While Britain's Labour Party continues to agonise over the conflicts of principle with unions' concern for job protection within the nuclear industry, the limelight is currently being stolen by a new campaign launched in September by an alliance of environmental pressure groups under the banner of 'Safe Energy'.

Even in France, with a traditionally strong cross-party pro-nuclear consensus, there are signs of change. Members of the French Socialist Party were among those who signed a joint statement by all European socialist parties at the beginning of September demanding a halt to the construction of new nuclear plants. The French reasoning was, admittedly, partly economic; the rapid expansion of nuclear power in France over the past few years means the country is now producing more electricity than it needs, and extra plant would just mean a greater surplus.

But on balance, Chernobyl has forced the pace in the creation of an increasingly solid anti-nuclear consensus across Europe. Nuclear power is now a major political issue across the continent. Chernobyl has made sure that it will be a significant factor in the general elections due in the near future in West Germany, Britain and Italy. ●

David Dickson

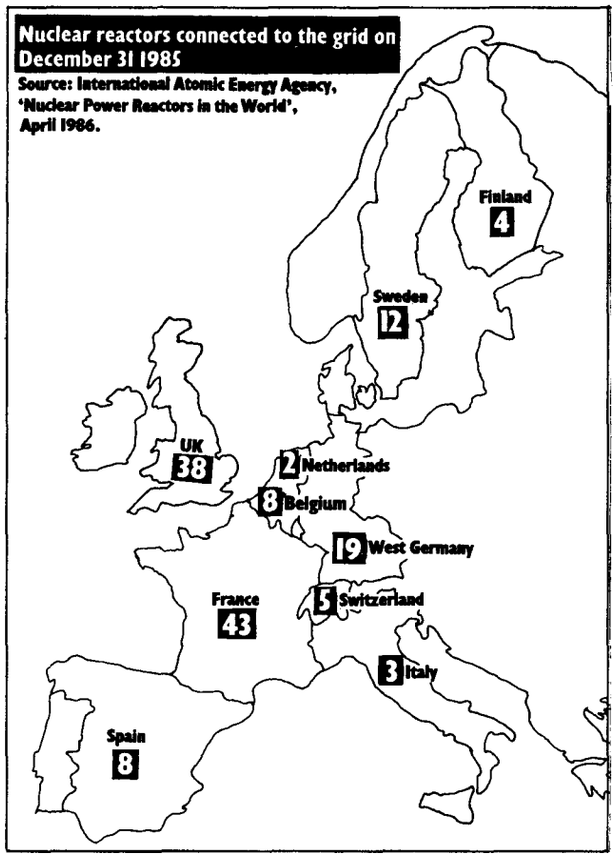


Photo: John Chapman

CND demonstration after Chernobyl

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Would a Phase-Out be Safe?

The TUC resolution calling for a phase out of nuclear power is a partial victory of reason over the nuclear juggernaut. But from the point of view of safety how adequate is it really?

The operating record of the nuclear industry is now clear. There have been two devastating accidents – Three Mile Island and Chernobyl.

A standard reference *(Nuclear Engineering International)* shows that the total reactor running time up to now is 2,512 reactor years. Thus we have had two accidents in 2,500 years of running time or one accident per 1,250 reactor years. This is our *observed* accident probability.[1]

Reactor design does not matter. Soviet openness in Vienna three weeks ago convinced observers that what happened at Chernobyl could have happened anywhere. As John Maddox, editorialised in *Nature*: 'That is the plain truth, which no amount of technical comparison of different reactor types can possibly conceal.'

The most likely UK phase-out scenario will be to shut down each reactor after 30 years of operation. Under this scheme there will still be 300 reactor years of operation over the next 25 years. Each year will have a probability of accident of 1:1250. A standard calculation gives the probability of accident at any time in the 25 year period of 21%. We have therefore, a 21% chance of a Three Mile Island or a Chernobyl here in the UK even with a phase out of the nuclear programme as called for by the TUC. This is an alarmingly high figure. ●

Joe Schwartz

1 A more elaborate calculation gives the so-called standard errors of this estimate as +1540, −590 ry.

Pill's 25th Birthday

Twenty five years ago two researchers, one (ironically Catholic) using hormones to treat infertility and the other investigating animal fertilisation, discovered a chemically induced mechanism for inhibiting ovulation. Doctors Rock and Pincus, encouraged by the patronage of birth control and population activists Mary McCormick and Margaret Sanger, in collaboration with scientists from Stark Laboratories, carried out human trials in Puerto Rico and developed their discovery for use as a contraceptive. Testing and certification of the drug in the USA followed in 1956 and by 1961 it was available in Britain.

The pioneer contraceptive pill contained relatively huge doses of oestrogen with progesterone, and worked by mimicking the body's experience of pregnancy, so stopping ovulation. Refinements to the composition of the pill and the amount of hormone needed to suppress ovulation progressed along with a precise understanding of the hormonal role of the reproductive process.

The pill's oestrogen strength was reduced by half and then half again, and in the early 1980s triphasic and biphasic pills appeared, so called because the dose given changed during the monthly cycle, offering a lower overall amount of hormone. The progesterone-only pill (mini pill) was developed in the late 1960s. Although slightly less effective than combined pills, it is available for women whose medical history precludes them from taking oestrogen.

A high media profile and public anxiety has meant the findings of the massive amounts of research on the pill are well publicised. Though much of the research has been on the early high-dose pills and a lot of reassuring advice has emerged, the short history of the pill is a catalogue of woe.

A link with thrombosis published in 1965 was followed by a Royal College of GPs study identifying an increased risk of circulatory disease for women who smoked, older women and those over a certain weight/height ratio. Cancer scares came in the early 1980s, compounded in 1983 with researchers Pike and Vessey relating long-term pill use to increased incidence of breast and cervical cancer.

Subsequent studies have cast grave doubts on the direct relationship of the pill to these cancers. A recent follow-up of the US Cancer and Steroid Hormone Study (CASH) found no increase in breast cancer in women using the pill for more than 15 years. In cervical cancer, smoking, partners' occupations, the age of first intercourse and the presence of wart virus are all now seen as important factors along with the pill probably contributing to the rate of development rather than causing the disease itself.

The good news of the protective effects of the pill in uterine and ovarian cancer and benign breast disease, to say nothing of its contraceptive qualities, rarely makes the press, remaining unconscious to many anxious women deciding whether or not to continue its use.

Decline in the use of the pill – 10% since 1975 – has clearly been triggered by concern over safety. Less discussed but equally important have been its emotional effects. While being an excellent contraceptive, by suppressing ovulation the pill successfully separates women from an awareness of their own fertility.

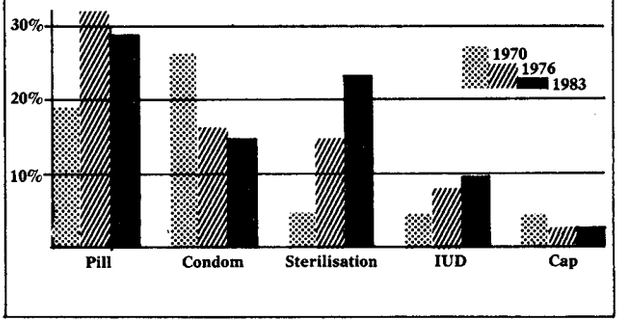
Pill scares, immediately followed by a rise in the abortion rate to women likely to be pill users, suggest that oral contraceptives lure people into a sense of security about their *infertility* which persists even when pill-taking stops. Some women find the security leads them to lose confidence in their fertility which can foster a subconcious desire to test it.

But the blame for undermining women's awareness and therefore conscious control of their fertility may not be with the pill but the way **women, and men, learn about their fertility and are introduced to their contraceptive options. If sex education aimed to enhance young people's understanding of fertility and sexuality and this was** linked with more advisory centres offering unbiased information about contraception, sexually active people would be able to make informed choices.

At present we have both feminists and Catholics arguing against the pill. But for many women the alternatives are unacceptable. The aim should surely be to continue research into improving barrier methods to increase options, but meanwhile for service providers and peers to respect an individual women's right to choose to control her fertility in the way she wishes. ●

Alison Frater and Alison Hadley

Different methods of contraception: 1970-1983, Great Britain (% of ever-married women)



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Union of Liberal Students

Like Marxism Today, not exactly what you'd expect. A redesigned, relaunched political force for change. Join your local campus branch. Or set one up.
Phone 01-839 1694, NOW!

Union of Liberal Students, 1 Whitehall Place,
London SW1A 2HE. Telephone: 01-839 1694

MYFYRWYR RHYDDFRYDOL

House of Lords

The unelected and landowning Conservative majority in the House of Lords has consistently rejected *any* legislation passed by the elected House of Commons to abolish hare coursing and hunting with dogs.

Their argument is that the House of Commons must have a 'mandate' to enact such legislation.

In 1976, the Labour Government Bill to abolish hare coursing received a majority of 117 in the House of Commons. Despite that majority and massive public support, their Lordships threw out the Bill because it was not in the Labour Party's 1974 Election Manifesto.

Because of this, MPs will not waste a Private Members' Bill on this issue. That is why a Labour Party Manifesto commitment is an absolutely essential requirement for wildlife protection.

It is not an attempt to 'bind' the PLP – it is simply a constitutional and procedural matter.

Please use your influence to ensure that the next Labour Party Manifesto contains just one line to give wild animals the same basic protection from cruelty as domestic animals received 75 years ago.

For further information please contact:

RICHARD COURSE
Executive Director

ANGELA SMITH
Political Officer

League Against Cruel Sports Limited

Sparling House,
83-87 Union Street, London SE1 1SG.
Telephone: 01-407 0979

CAMBRIDGE

An Introduction to Karl Marx

JON ELSTER

A concise and comprehensive introduction to Marx's social, political and economic thought for the beginning student. The book gives a bibliographical sketch of Marx's life and surveys in turn each of the central doctrines of Marxist thought. Finally, Jon Elster assesses 'what is living and what is dead' in the philosophy of Marx.

208 pp. *0 521 32922 1* **Hard covers £17.50 net**
0 521 33831 X **Paperback £5.95 net**

Karl Marx: A Reader

Edited by **JON ELSTER**

A selection of Marx's most important writings organised around the major themes in his thought. A brief introduction to each selection explains its context and its place in Marx's argument. Designed as a companion to *An Introduction to Karl Marx*, the book offers the student in the most concise selection available the crucial texts needed to understand Marx's views.

352 pp. *0 521 32921 3* **Hard covers £17.50 net**
0 521 33832 8 **Paperback £6.95 net**

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 2RU

BEAUTY WITHOUT CRUELTY

is an Educational Charity which shows there are alternatives to the use of animals in the production of furs, cosmetics, toiletries and perfume.

Send SAE for further details including a list of cruelty free cosmetics.

BWC, 11 Lime Hill Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent TN1 1LJ
Reg Charity No: 222884.

Essential Works of Socialism

Third Edition
edited by Irving Howe

This classic anthology of major works in the development of socialist thought is now reissued in a new, substantially revised edition. Editor Irving Howe has added five essays that represent recent efforts to rethink the socialist project in light of the political experiences of the past half century.

Cloth £40.00 *Paper* £12.95

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
13 Bedford Square · London WC1B 3JF

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Catch 'em Young

The September colour supplement ads herald a new academic year and another crop of students ripe for the banks' picking.

A quick selection of perks on offer includes 'ten obvious attractions' from Lloyds (£10 paid into your account), discounts on everything from tapes to sports goods from the TSB, and £6 or a travel alarm clock from the Midland.

NatWest's offer of a free tenner seems geared to a crudely inappropriate stereotype of the rugby-shirted, beer-swilling (male) student taking his washing home to mum. More subtly, the Co-op has latched onto the Band Aid-inspired wave of youth idealism: new customers between 15 and 22 can choose a £10 voucher or a donation to a nominated charity.

Last, and trying not to be least, is Barclays, aiming to counteract the boycott campaign head-on with their own leaflet 'South Africa: Where Barclays Stands', as well as the usual gifts. A recently-leaked internal memo shows, however, that they have an uphill struggle on their hands: their share of the student market has fallen by 10% in the past three years.

There is little to choose between the inducements. The major change in approach is that getting at the money seems easier. 10 years ago, most students wouldn't have had a cheque card.

Now they also have cash-point cards, possibly credit cards, and the opportunity of low-interest loans up to £300.

But it's after the study years that the stakes are upped. Increasing numbers of students will gratefully accept the initial cheap loans as a first instalment towards the four-figure overdrafts which will accompany their search for jobs on graduation. As long as the banks continue to lend a 'sympathetic' ear, a cynic might suggest that it's one way to make sure you stay with them, for good. ●

Nicky Spencer

Communists On Tap

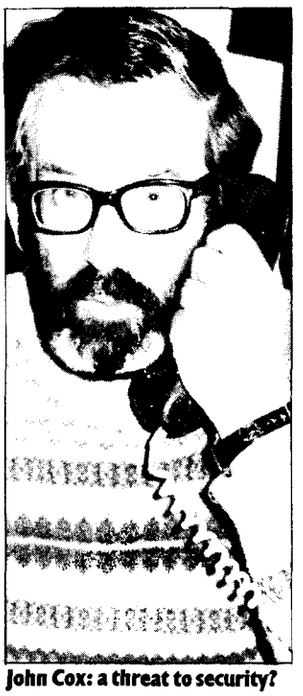
Mr Justice Taylor's judgment on the tapping of John Cox's telephone conversations with Joan Ruddock and Bruce Kent has made some important legal advances. The case brought by CND was based on the evidence of Cathy Massiter, a former MI5 intelligence officer who became so disturbed at the political abuse of state security functions that she first objected and then (when told to see a psychiatrist) resigned.

Although the case went the government's way on the inferences to be drawn from Cathy Massiter's evidence, it went CND's way on a series of important propositions of civil liberty law. And the court was constrained to accept her factual testimony that in 1983 she had been asked to put up an application to the Home Secretary for a tap on the telephone of John Cox, a leading officer of CND and a prominent Communist. Because Cox lived in Wales, most of his contact with other CND leaders had to be by phone, so that a tap on him worked as a tap on CND's leaders.

First, the case has established that although the law gives nobody a positive right of privacy in Britain, an invasion of personal privacy by the state is a sufficiently serious thing to give the victim a right to challenge it in court.

Secondly, the case established that if the state publicly undertakes to limit its activity of spying on citizens and to abide by published criteria for doing so, a citizen who is adversely affected can challenge the lawfulness of the state's activity if the state breaks its own rules.

Thirdly, the judge rejected the argument that because the Home Secretary considered national security to be at stake where phone-tapping was concerned, the court should decline to adjudicate on the claim. The fact that the government dared to invite the court to abdicate in its favour was an indication of how far seven years of Thatcherism have eroded political acceptance of the constitutional norms of three centuries.



John Cox: a threat to security?

Where CND's case came unstuck was on the evidence. How, said the judge, could one know that the Home Secretary or the MI5 brasshats did not have more information than Cathy Massiter did to justify tapping John Cox's phone? The Home Office had chosen to preserve silence on this question in its evidence. Cathy Massiter later commented that the notion was untenable: it was she who was in charge of MI5's intelligence-gathering on CND. But on this the case was lost.

Ironically the judge also thought that because it had taken four months for her application for the warrant to reach the Home Secretary and be signed by him suggested that there had been fuller deliberation on further material higher up the line. Once again the civil service may have been rescued by the cock-up factor, a regular phenomenon of bureaucracy which has the effect of making its mistakes appear to be conspiracies and its conspiracies to be mistakes.

Perhaps the most striking thing revealed by Massiter's evidence and not contradicted by the government was that MI5 was blithely labelling CND 'communist dominated' until 1979, which apparently gave it *carte blanche* to spy on CND members. The organisation was then relegated to a 'communist penetrated' category, which should have meant minimal surveillance. Instead, surveillance then proceeded to grow in direct proportion to CND's political effectiveness. More officers were assigned to watching it and a spy, Harry Newton was planted in its head office.

The tap on John Cox's telephone was a part of this escalation: MI5 was satisfied that his work in CND had no ulterior motive, but his CP membership furnished the excuse they needed to monitor his and hence CND's telephone traffic.

The unpleasant after-taste of the judgment lies in its apparent acceptance that his mere membership or leading position in the Communist Party might have been enough to allow MI5 to tap John Cox's telephone within the government's published criteria. These criteria require 'a major subversive or espionage activity that is likely to injure the national interest', coupled with a likelihood that a telephone tap will provide material of direct use in countering the threat.

The point was not one which was or had to be decided by the judge, and the Home Secretary did not pitch his argument there. The trouble is that unless it is made very plain to the security services that people who believe our society needs a fundamental overhaul and who campaign openly for their views are not necessarily a threat to the national interest, the security services and their political overseers are quite dotty enough to believe that they are and to go on tapping their telephones accordingly. ●

Maurice Archer

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DON'T FORGET TO VISIT

MANCHESTER TRADE UNION WEEK

Commencing Monday, 13th October, 1986
OFFICIAL OPENING BY NORMAN WILLIS, GENERAL SECRETARY, TUC

Manchester's first Trade Union Week was a great success with participation from more than 30 trade unions and around 8,000 visitors.

Trade Union Week '86 with internationalism as the central theme, provides even more attractions.

Including:

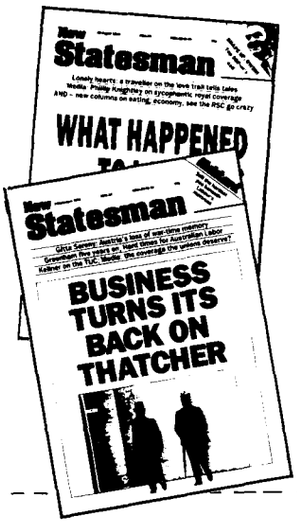
- The 'Other America' Exhibition which illustrates the art, history and culture of the American Labour Movement.
- Manchester's own specially designed exhibition illustrating many of the international links of Manchester's Labour Movement.
- A major rally on South Africa, including leading speakers and live entertainment.
- Individual Trade Union displays and Trade Union Fair.
- Films, videos, debates and social events.

Trade Union Week is for everyone – don't miss it.

For further information contact the Campaign for Public Information Unit – 061-234 3057

MANCHESTER
City Council
Defending Jobs – Improving Services

Get New Statesman FREE for 3 months



For over 70 years the **New Statesman** has been the leading socialist weekly current affairs magazine. Now it is pioneering a new journalism on the Left. Its quality is based on its ability to identify the key issues arising from world events, and on its refusal to accept easy answers. It forces into the open facts and debates which the powerful would prefer to ignore, and does so with some sense of irony, even of fun.

For a free 3-month introductory period plus a six month trial subscription, complete the form below and return it with your payment to: New Statesman Subscriptions, Freepost, London EC1B 1EB. No stamp is needed, and if you cancel before the end of your free period we will refund any payment you have made.

Name_____

Address_____

Postcode_____

Payment options *(please tick one)*

☐ I enclose a cheque/postal order for £20 payable to New Statesman

☐ Please charge my credit card number:

Access/Visa/American Express/Diners *(delete as applicable)*

Signed_____

Date_____

Offer applies to individual UK subscribers only ED

ACTT

ACTT supports public service broadcasting

Alan Sapper
General Secretary

Bruce Anderson
President

Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians
111 Wardour Street, London W1V 4AY

★ Morning Star
De Beers diamond mines closed by demand for release of jailed leaders
Black miners strike to defend union
APARTHEID

LOOK OUT for the new look Morning Star

Hidden Agendas

Theory, politics, and experience in the Women's Movement

ELIZABETH WILSON with **ANGELA WEIR**

In this collection, Elizabeth Wilson's continuing contribution to the discussion of the relationship between an individual's life and political and social change is fully revealed. As a document about feminism, *Hidden Agendas* will have an important part to play in the development of the politics of feminism; but more than that, it will be a major testament of autobiography and the documentation of personal life and development.

256 pages Paperback 0 422 60120 9 £7.50

TAVISTOCK
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE.

NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS (Scotland)

Scottish miners express their solidarity with all people in Britain struggling to defeat Thatcherism, to those involved in the great struggle for peace and, especially at this time, to those struggling to end Apartheid in South Africa.

Michael McGahey (President)
George Bolton (Vice President)

INDEPENDENT BOOKSHOP

FOR A GOOD RADICAL READ

69 SURREY STREET
SHEFFIELD S1 8LH.
(0742) 737722

CUSTOMER ORDERS
BOOKSTALL SERVICE
LIBRARY SUPPLY

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Causes without a rebel

For the first time in the 1980s I've really got the blues. Until now, I've been holding on to optimism and holding back the tears as best I can. I live in the Left more surely and yet more critically than ever before. The language has changed. 'Betrayal' used to come quickly to the lips, but it is not a word I use any more. It doesn't help deal with defeat.

I also live in the world of women, and that makes you a dissident. Women's liberation is not the only radical culture around, but it happens to be mine. And although some have mourned the apparent dispersal of the women's movement beyond its original parameters, it is the culture that has sustained me during the 1980s.

Politically it has made me and many of my generation live without deliverers and destiny. Instead there is perpetual uncertainty, a searching consciousness, the invention of more democratic forms of direct action as well as the long march through the institutions. It has navigated new routes between the mainstream and the margin, always keeping a foot in both; it is among women that I find pleasure that I have learned a different responsibility for myself, my psyche and my politics.

Socialist feminist dissidents are often accused of being anti-working class when all we have done is rediscover that the priorities of poor women, working women waged and unwaged, have been ill-served by the labour movement, *alias* men's movement.

So, one of the disappointments of the 80s, has been the readiness of much of the Labour leadership to take to the hills of tradition. It has snubbed the women's movement which alone has taken responsibility for *creating* new movements and new consciousness among women. Feminism is closer to the consensus among women than these men will ever know, and the arrogance of their innocence may yet again make millions of women withdraw their consent from Labourism in the future as they have in the past. This isn't just a problem for women, but also for Labour – women's disappointment may become Labour's defeat.

Labour, we are told, cares. It cares about the poor. We have watched millions become poorer. The pain of pessimism, anxiety and plain poverty is the most shocking feature of political discourse in Britain – because it is a silence. With Labourism, women and the poor are always with us, but they are never the 'us', women and the poor are always 'other.' They remain part of the problem not part of the solution. So, Labour's language of caring still sounds like the language of privilege, philanthropy and power.

It was the priorities of poor women and men which generated a critique of the butch economism and corporatism of the labour movement in the late 1960s and again in the 1970s. In the 1980s, black people's discontent has been added to the litany of challenge – a labour movement wrought in the image and interests of white skilled men certainly had its magic moments, but it was not and is now not representative of 'the people'.

The comforting mantra for dissidents in the 1980s was that even though the forward march of Labourism was halted, many of the people were on the move, they were making politics themselves. For them, Labourism was always part of the problem but might yet become part of the solution. At last it was becoming obvious that Labourism and the Left had reached the limits of their origins. To be the agents of change they also had to be the subjects of change.

But Labourism nationally has proved to be stubbornly resistant to pressures from within. Middle class Labour professionals spurn feminism as a middle class preoccupation, ambitious white men scorn black competitors for being ambitious, and political parties feel safe from the poor because the poor aren't in parties.

The 1980s encouraged optimism because despite Thatcherism, new causes transgressed the boundaries of class and party alignments and challenged the old consensus no less than they threatened Thatcherism.

All these causes – the missiles, nuclear energy, women, Ethiopia, apartheid, the coal communities – bypassed the political parties, all were characterised by direct action and popular alliances. Some generated new coalitions, even a new consensus. They created a new mood. But a mood is not an alternative, not a new common sense. The spirit of anti-Thatcherism has a hole in its heart, it lacks a centre. The Labour Party (and for that matter the Alliance) has failed to create an alternative political culture, nor has it embraced the cultures of the miscellaneous movements which ebb and flow on the shores of extra-parliamentary politics.

Certainly, the Greater London Council, as a municipal administration, became the progressive paradigm, because Labour in office made substantial state resources available for a prefigurative rainbow coalition in London. It was the best example we have yet had of the 'enabling state' propounded by Neil Kinnock at last year's Labour Party conference. But that endeavour has not been matched either by the party outside County Hall nor by Walworth Road, even though the party HQ is probably now more in touch than it has been for years.

There is another problem, different to that of Labour's relationship with movements, that of the historic partnership between the trade union movement and the party. There is *no* union initiative.

This year's TUC talked the language of progressive politics rather than talking to itself. That went some way to restoring the union movement as an active, affable presence in the progressive firmament. But unlike 1974 and the Jones-Scanlon era, there is not a strategic Left. There are left personalities, but there is no left alliance, there's plenty of realism and still more pessimism. There are left policies with no mandate, but there is no left strategy supported by a movement mandate.

Neil Kinnock inaugurated the political season by deploying the concept of consensus. But it did not appear as realignment around the radical movements which have detonated the hegemony of Thatcherism, still less a 'partnership' between the labour movement and its party. It was a threat, a weapon, an ultimatum to a movement of activists – don't move! The injunction to lie low seems to have been endorsed at the TUC out of inertia, as if it intended to lie low anyway. Sadly, it just doesn't know what else to do.

Consensus is, for sure, a necessary condition of Labour's ascendancy, but Labour still has a passive relationship to consensus, it assumes consensus is always conservative. Instead of being the expression of a new anti-Thatcher culture, Kinnock's consensus is the aloof expression of a new pessimism. This notion of consensus doesn't describe us, it is being used against us. At the TUC Kinnock seemed to be saying, 'you need me more than I need you, in fact I need you like a hole in the head.'

The labour movement only has itself to blame, but he, too, is hardly a model of modernism. For all the shifts in style, it is terribly traditional. Despite Red Wedge and the GLC, his party, as a party, remains self-absorbed and isolated. It has not built a popular coalition or culture. But neither does it seem to see that there is already a new consensus emerging from the fissures in personal and political life. Yes, we want the modern, *enabling state* he proposed at last year's Labour Party conference, but a condition of that must be an *enabling party*. ●

Beatrix Campbell

Photo: Carol Ann Allen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE
london lesbian and gay
CENTRE

THE CENTRE SUPPORTS THE CAMPAIGN WITHIN THE LABOUR PARTY FOR LESBIAN AND GAY RIGHTS POLICIES.

London Lesbian & Gay Centre, 69 Cowcross Street, London EC1M 6BP. Tel: 608 1471. Nearest Underground: Farringdon on Metropolitan Line. Wheelchair access. Assistance available.

THE CENTRE IS OPEN TO ALL READERS OF MARXISM TODAY. Your Membership is a positive contribution to the lesbian and gay community.

IVS

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE

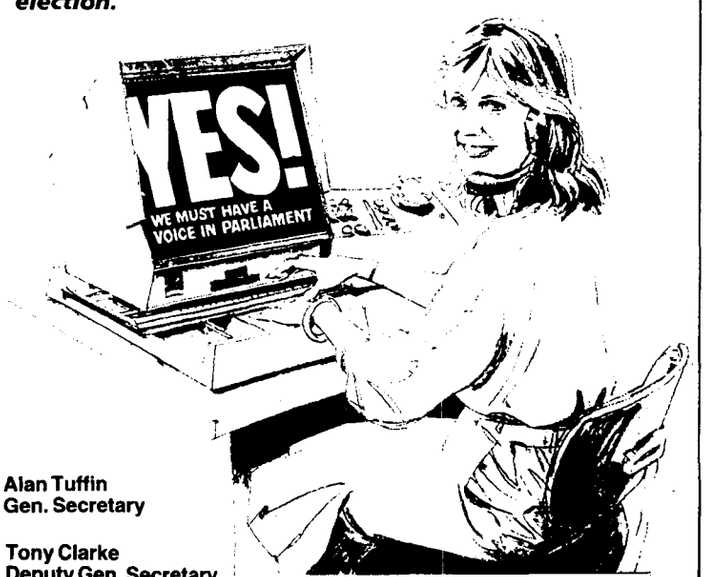
Current Vacancies in Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland:
Engineers – Civil, Water, Mechanical
Builder/Plumber
Doctors
Physiotherapist and Occupational Therapist
Agriculturalists and Forester
Architects and Planners
Teachers-EFL, Maths and Physics

Reference MT 17

UNION OF COMMUNICATION WORKERS

Representing workers in the Post Office and British Telecom

Remember! Working people deserve nothing less than maximum unity in the labour movement to win the next election.



Alan Tuffin
Gen. Secretary

Tony Clarke
Deputy Gen. Secretary

TRANSPORT & GENERAL WORKERS UNION

Region Number 6

"We forge ahead firm in our beliefs, strengthened by the devotion and solidarity of our friends; above all by an underlying faith in our own resources and determination in the invincibility of our cause." Nelson Mandela

Wally Nugent, Regional Chairman
Bob Owens, Regional Secretary

Transport House, 1 Crescent, Salford M54 PR.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Political Unionism

Congratulations to *Marxism Today* for the John Edmonds interview. Edmonds is very honest when he says 'within the next decade trade unions are not going to be in a position to force contract cleaners, for example, to pay reasonable pay and conditions through trade union organisation.' His conclusion is that governmental action will be needed. The trade union role is supplementary.

One could go much further and say that the same is true in the traditionally highly organised sectors. Miners, for example, will not prosper very much in the future on the basis of industrial militancy alone. Their future depends on the kind of fuel policy adopted by the government of the day. The same applies on the railways. The rail unions have tried every possible permutation of industrial action to defend jobs but with very little success. Recent discussions between the Labour leaders and the Rail Board about creating more jobs in the industry is the first glimmer of hope for decades.

Perhaps the most positive feature of this year's TUC was the widespread recognition of the need for political solutions that have some hope of winning majority support in the country. This turn towards politics should be helped forward by Communists in the unions.

Even in the formative days of trade unionism Marxists recognised the limitations of purely trade union activity. What I think happened in the 60s and 70s was a move in the opposite direction by political militants in industry. Broad political work appeared unrewarding, as evidenced, for example, in the continuous decline of the Communist vote in elections; so the militants turned towards trade union work. They could satisfy their class feelings in strikes and industrial actions.

The present generation of industrial militants grew to maturity in these heady days, and some find it very difficult to turn to political rather than industrial action. John Edmonds is one of a number of senior trade union officers who are moving that way.

Marxism Today has done more than any other political journal I know of to bring out the new features of industry and the unions, but I would like to see it doing even more in the future to open up these new areas to debate. ●

Jock Nicolson, London

Hooligans

In the April 85 issue of *The Magistrate* Alec Samuels JP admitted that football hooliganism was 'a serious social problem which society is signally failing to cope with.' Unfortunately Mr Samuels' concern was aimed more at the ways of dealing with the culprits rather than ensuring that the problem didn't occur in the first place.

Eugene McLaughlin and Steve Redhead (*MT* Sept) also seemed unable to get to grips with the issue of solving the problem. Football hooliganism has now become a new fashion where it is trendy to don your designer outfit – Stanley knife included – and embark on an afternoon of mayhem; but the underlying problems are still there.

The prime minister has done nothing but add further restrictions to the lives of people from inner-city areas who bear the scars of unemployment, poor housing and decreasing social facilities.

The players have a role to play themselves, both on and off the field. Would Graeme Souness and his Glasgow Rangers team have started the new season so violently if they had to explain their actions to supporters in the pubs and clubs around the ground later that day instead of driving off to their detatched houses or dancing the night away in some trendy nightspot?

In the end clubs still pay out hundreds of thousands of pounds in transfer fees, with little improvement to facilities and even less contact with the people who keep them afloat – the punters.

And the government: they call for increased policing and put a towel over the beer pumps. As Robert Elms wrote in *The Face*, 'One of the problems with the problem of football violence is that most of those who moralise about it haven't ever experienced it.' ●

Peter Wilson, London

Stalin and Spain

How unfortunate that *Marxism Today*'s coverage of the Spanish civil war manages just one brusque and dismissive reference to George Orwell. Florence Kray's remarks (*MT* August) smack of that unsavoury tradition that seeks to discredit George Orwell for his courage in exposing the repressive role played by the Communist movement.

Nor was *Marxism Today*'s earlier and more extensive coverage of the civil war (*MT* July) a sign that the Communist Party has yet had the courage to confront its own past with much candour and rigour.

Manuel Azcarate's article does acknowledge that the Communist International's treatment of the non-communist Left as 'traitors and agents of fascism' had 'very negative consequences', and that it 'weakened the struggle of the people'.

But his highly selective approach to the civil war allows him to avoid explaining just why Stalin subordinated the Spanish people to Soviet foreign policy. Indeed his article helps to perpetuate the half-truth that was so central to Stalin's strategy – characterising events in Spain as simply a struggle between democracy and fascism.

It was the inspiring, creative and explosive outburst of activity that the Communist International camouflaged, contained, and eventually destroyed for fear of offending Britain and France. The CPGB obediently played its part in the process and the *Daily Worker* not only slandered its opponents, but suppressed and distorted events to fit the line.

Given *Marxism Today*'s apparent desire to break the mould of left politics I find its recent coverage of the Spanish civil war a cause for concern. Until the Communist Party can be honest about its full record during the civil war, it may be wiser to remain sceptical about those changes to its image and style. ●

Barry Winter
ILP

Save Carmen Gloria

During the national stoppage of July 2 and 3 in Chile, organised by the broad-based Civilian Assembly, the military captured a young man and a young woman, and set light to their bodies. Rodrigo Rojas died after a period of a few days. More than two months later his companion, Carmen Gloria, is still struggling to survive.

A huge, public, breathtaking campaign has taken hold of Chile in order to save her life. In a nation totally devoid of a public health service, the reputed daily cost of the surgery required is some $1,000. On September4, in a further national strike, the name of Carmen Gloria was prominent. In the public mind she has now come to symbolise the hopes of all who want peace and justice in Chile. Support, too, is required from Britain to save her life. Please send donations to 'Salvemos a Carmen Gloria', c/o 54 Studley Road, London E7 9LX. ●

Bill Schwarz, London

Cartoon: Nick Newman

(PS)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labour's Prospects

Past Imperfect, Future Tense

Unlike in 1983, a Labour government no longer seems a fantasy. But the party's record in government is sobering to say the least. **Eric Hobsbawm** considers the lessons Labour must learn

He wanted Labour to be accepted as a party thought suitable for government by respectable people

Three years ago the prospects of another Labour government were not worth talking about concretely. Today, with all precautions, they can again be envisaged. What this article tries to do is not to discuss Labour's programme and still less various speculative electoral outcomes, but what, if anything, we can learn about the prospects of another Labour government from the historical record of earlier ones. I shall consider mainly home policy, even though this is unrealistic, because today international constraints impose the most effective limits on what national governments can do. This is because (with rare exceptions) nothing positive is to be said about the foreign policy of past Labour governments. They have rarely if ever had a Labour or socialist foreign policy as distinct from a Liberal, Tory, or ruling-class consensus one. That is the first lesson to be drawn from the past.

There have been five periods of Labour government (1924, 1929-31, 1945-51, 1964-70 and 1974-79) as well as the years of wartime coalition (1940-45). What was their record?

The first government was a minority administration, since the Labour Party was not even the largest party in parliament, polling little better than the Liberals, who ran a good way behind the Tories. In fact, Labour was put in by both the Liberals and intelligent Conservatives because, as Neville Chamberlain put it, a ruling class coalition to keep it out would strengthen the working class party for the future, while in office 'it would be too weak to do much harm but not too weak to get discredited.'

The first Labour government certainly did not do the British ruling classes much harm, although the secret service which, then as later, had communism on the brain, regarded it as a sinister subversive conspiracy and did its best to sabotage it (Zinoviev Letter etc). On the other hand it was not discredited either. After a shortlived Labour government the Labour vote went up 25%. But what, if anything, did it do in its nine months?

It certainly did not try to instal socialism, not only because it was in no position to, but because this was the last thing that its leader, Ramsay Macdonald, wanted. He wanted Labour to be accepted as a party thought suitable for government by respectable people. Or even by Labour people themselves, for the party took a very long time to overcome the feeling that it was more normal for the upper classes to be in government than for representatives of labour. Even Harold Wilson was irrationally pleased when he had been premier long enough to claim – quite mistakenly – that Labour was now 'the natural party of government'.

Nevertheless, the first Labour government actually had some achievements to its credit, apart from recognising the legal existence of the USSR. Even though it disappointed both moderate and left-wing supporters, it did not do badly by the standards of Wilson's 1960s or Callaghan's 1970s. It improved unemployment benefits and education, and its Housing Act, which subsidised council building for tenants on controlled rents, was a major landmark in the history of the welfare state. More than half a million houses were built under this 'Wheatley Act', named after the left-winger who pushed it through as Minister for Health, before the National government of 1933 abolished the subsidy. Wheatley did not have time before the government fell to push through an Act controlling rackets in building costs, but a rather tentative programme of public works to reduce unemployment was introduced which left behind it a project to establish a national electricity supply system, subsequently carried out by the Conservatives. By and large, the record was not bad unless one expected Labour to make a revolution.

The second Labour government of 1929-31 is one old Labour loyalists would want to forget. Fortunately it was possible, though mistaken, to load the blame for its failure on to its premier Ramsay Macdonald, its Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Snowden, and the ex-trade union right-winger JH Thomas, who joined the Conservatives and some Liberals to form a 'National government' in 1931 when the Labour government fell. The 1929 government did not have a Labour majority, though by then Labour was – but only just – the largest party in parliament, on a slightly smaller number of votes than the Tories. It depended on Liberal support. But since the Liberals had fought the election on a rather more ambitious social and economic programme than Labour, this was hardly much of a handicap. The Liberal programme very much anticipated the sort of Keynesianism that Labour was later to make its own. In fact, J M Keynes was the Liberals' economic advisor.

The second Labour government was not entirely without some reformist achievement, but it had two major weaknesses. The first was that the leadership was rapidly moving to the right, but was not sure that it had the situation in the party under adequate control. It had therefore saddled the party in 1928 with a programme which was strong on the rhetoric of socialist aspiration (it was drafted by R H Tawney), but very foggy on just what a Labour government proposed to do. Furthermore, unlike 1924, the Labour Left was systematically excluded from the government. The second weakness was that this clueless administration found itself plunged into the world depression of 1929-33. It had not the faintest idea what to do about it, especially since it rejected any policies to deal with unemployment, put forward within the party or outside, which conflicted with the current eco-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

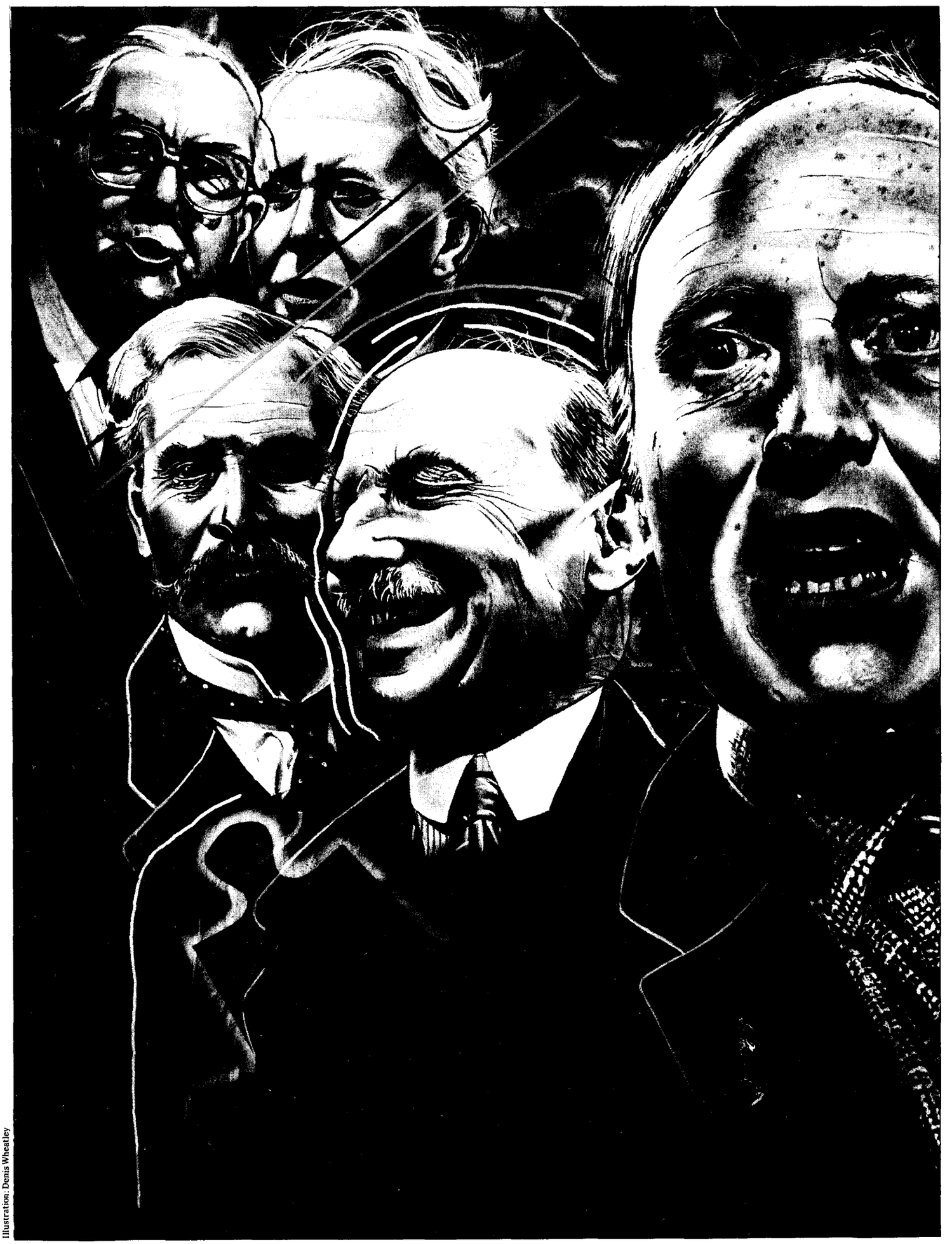
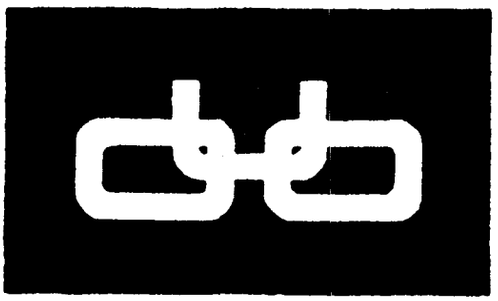


Illustration: Denis Wheatley

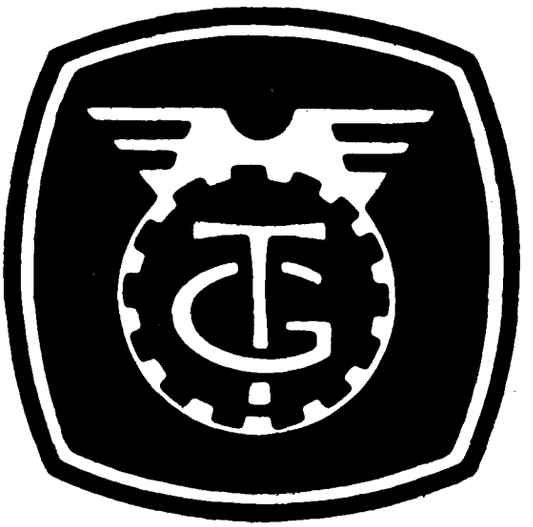
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



UNION OF CONSTRUCTION, ALLIED TRADES AND TECHNICIANS

Working for a Labour future. Greetings to all delegates at the 1986 Labour Party conference.

A. Williams (General Secretary)
C. Kelly (E.C. Chairman)



TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION (Irish Region)

Calls for the rejection of statutory interference in both wage negotiations and union rule books.

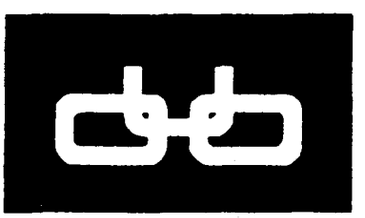
John Freeman (Regional Secretary)
Andy Holmes (Regional Chairman)

UCATT

UNION OF CONSTRUCTION, ALLIED TRADES AND TECHNICIANS (North West Region)

We send greetings to delegates at the 1986 Labour Party conference and when returned to office, we call on a Labour government to abolish lump labour in the construction industry.

A. Lowe (Regional Secretary)
W. Jones (Regional Chairman)



UNION OF CONSTRUCTION, ALLIED TRADES AND TECHNICIANS (Yorkshire Region)

We send greetings to delegates at the 1986 Labour Party conference and when returned to office, we call on a Labour government to abolish lump labour in the construction industry.

P. H. Corby (Regional Secretary)
Peter O'Grady (Regional Chairman)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nomic orthodoxy of Treasury advisors.

It was by no means the only government in the world which found itself reeling under the blows of the world slump, but almost certainly (with President Hoover's USA, but in a very different manner) the government whose reactions to the slump were the most pitifully inadequate. In fact, Scandinavian social democracy was immediately inspired by the awful example of British Labour to work out better anti-slump policies.

The spectacular failure of this government is indicated by the collapse of the Labour vote in the general election of 1931 – it dropped by about 25% – and by the visible disintegration within the party. Macdonald, Snowden and Thomas went over to the Tories. Sir Oswald Mosley, then a radically minded minister, headed a revolt supported by substantial figures on the Left such as AJ Cook and the young Aneurin Bevan, until it was clear that he was headed in the direction of fascism via the so-called 'New Party' he founded on the way. Those pillars of right-wing Fabianism, the Webbs (Sydney had been a government minister) henceforth wrote off the Labour Party and looked to the Soviet Union. The most important organisation of socialists within the party, the ILP, drew away and shortly thereafter committed suicide by disaffiliating from Labour.

In 1931 the cause of Labour was in greater disarray than at any other time except 1981-1983. Unfortunately the fact that the Communist International was passing through its most sectarian period at the time meant that no section of the Left benefitted. Any way we look at it, the second Labour government was a disaster.

The third period (1945-51), being the only one so far which was not patently disappointing, has acquired a mythical halo in retrospect. 'The Attlee administration' it has been said, 'is in grave danger of retreating from reality into the halfworld of legend and fantasy' (K O Morgan). True enough, but the legend is based on massive achievements at home, in spite of a much more negative record internationally.

It has been argued that these achievements only represented the middle-of-the-road consensus which had developed during the war, and which stretched from moderate Tories to centre-left Labour politicians, with two Liberals as its central ideologists: Beveridge and Keynes. This is misleading. Of course, in the main, the Attlee government carried out what wartime committees had planned; and at least one of the major pillars of postwar Britain, the Butler Education Act of 1944, was actually passed under the Churchill coalition. It is also undeniable that the Conservative governments after 1951 accepted most of the Labour programme, until the Thatcher governments which were the first to try to dismantle the Britain of Butler, Beveridge, Keynes and Attlee.

But this does not mean that Britain would have been much the same if Labour had not swept into power in 1945. It is one thing to announce great plans for the postwar future in the middle of a war, especially when the citizens are known to be fighting for a better future. It is quite another thing, as the years after the first world war proved, to carry them out when the pressure is off. Postwar Tory governments might have done something, but it is inconceivable that they would have thrown themselves into the job of reforming the country with as much genuine enthusiasm as the Labour government did, Left and Right for once working together. Labour can legitimately claim the credit, and take the blame, for 1945-51.

Its actual achievements are impressive in sheer quantity. They include the nationalisation of the Bank of England, coal and civil aviation (1946), of electricity (1947), gas, railways and some other forms of transport (1948), iron and steel (1949); the complete reconstruction of the social service and welfare system (family allowances, national insurance, national assistance, changed in 1966 to supplementary benefit and the National Health Service); major changes in planning (new towns and a major Town and Country Planning Act); most of the modern system of appeals machinery (rent tribunals and the rest), and a great deal more. In short, no government of 20th century Britain has changed the framework of British social and economic institutions more dramatically in five years than the Labour government in 1945-50.

Nationalisation was undoubtedly at the heart of this programme, together with the welfare state. But just here there was a crucial vagueness in Labour's policy. Everybody in the government backed the nationalisation programme (except on iron and steel), either on grounds of efficiency, or because public control was needed to integrate them into national economic policy, or because the removal of capitalist bosses would transform industrial relations (as everyone thought), or as a symbol of Labour's determination to end the old order, or for a mixture of all these motives and a few others. But there was actually very little thought about how nationalisation fitted into the general economic and social strategy of Labour, and practically no thought about how 'common ownership' should be organised.

The form of nationalisation adopted virtually without debate, was that introduced by Herbert Morrison for London transport in 1933, and more or less based on such earlier models as the BBC and the Central Electricity Board, namely the autonomous public corporation which replaced a board of irresponsible private capitalists by an equally autocratic board of public bureaucrats, with whom the unions now negotiated. Unfortunately the union leadership of the time actually seems to have preferred a system where workers did not participate in, or have responsibility for, management.

There was no pressure for any kind of workers' control – even the Left showed little interest in it before the 1960s – and, unlike Germany or France, neither government nor unions nor private enterprise showed any interest in formally associating workers with industrial management. Of course such arrangements have not proved very satisfactory, but it is curious nevertheless that French nationalisation after 1945 was influenced by British thinking on workers' control – GDH Cole via the Austro-marxist Otto Bauer – whereas British nationalisation by a Labour government was not.

There was no real thinking either about other forms of public and co-operative ownership and management.

As for the management of the economy, it is an extraordinary fact that the Labour government showed no interest in planning the economy, unlike the French government which, in the very same years, systematically developed devices for planning a mixed economy. Labour appeared uninterested in planning, and the mechanisms inherited for this purpose from the war were dismantled. The government was not even particularly Keynesian in its first years. But while this should warn us against reading too much socialism, or even economic competence, into the 1945 government, its economic achievements were impressive. In 1951 Labour left the British economy in good shape; largely because the government, especially during the so-called period of 'austerity', put national recovery before consumer advertising, and ensured fair distribution. The rich were still too nervous to flaunt their wealth. Meanwhile the welfare and social security system installed by Labour was certainly the best and most human existing anywhere at that time. Hence the government retained the loyalty of its mainly working class voters. Labour's support rose after 1945. When the Tories, on a slightly smaller vote, defeated it in 1951, due to the vagaries of the British electoral system, Labour actually polled its highest ever number and share of votes: about 14m and 49%.

But by this time, in fact by sometime in 1947, the Attlee government had plainly run out of steam. Once it had carried out the programme it had acquired by 1945, it had no further ideas. The major internal criticism of the Attlee government is that it lacked any long-term strategy for the future, whether of social transformation or economic growth. Further advance, even for the Labour Left, henceforth became a matter of drawing up shopping lists of further nationalisa-

The third period (1945-51), being the only one so far which was not patently disappointing, has acquired a mythical halo in retrospect

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NORTHERN EDITION

WIPE APARTHEID OFF THE MAP

So we're walking, running and cycling from all over Scotland, North East England and Yorkshire to help the South African people finish it off. Each Friday the Scottish Anti-Apartheid Movement pickets the South African Consulate in Glasgow. On Saturday 11 October it is organising an all Scottish Demonstration there.

To add to their impact the Communist Party is staging marches, runs and cycle rides in relays to converge on Glasgow on Friday 17 October. Banners and flags of the ANC will be passed from stage to stage along the routes and on to the final picket in Glasgow.

And each participant will be raising money through sponsorship to swell the funds going to the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

ROADS TO FREEDOM is organised by the Communist Part as part of its contribution to the struggle against Apartheid and racism in Britain.

How you can take part

- ★ Walk, run or cycle on one of the stages.
- ★ Sponsor participants and/or help collect sponsorship.
- ★ Meet the walkers, runners and riders at evening events along the route. (See *7 DAYS*, the Communist Party paper, and local publicity for details)
- ★ Come, and bring others to the Anti-Apartheid Movement's Demonstration in Glasgow on October 11 (Hamilton 426781 for further details).
- ★ Join the mass picket at the South African Consulate in Glasgow on October 17.

What to do

Fill in and send off the coupon to the address for the stage in which you wish to take part, and/or to collect sponsorship. Mark your envelope 'Roads to Freedom'.

If you are walking, running or cycling

We will inform you of the stage starting point, distance, time of departure and approximate arrival time, and give you the name and telephone number of the stage convenor.

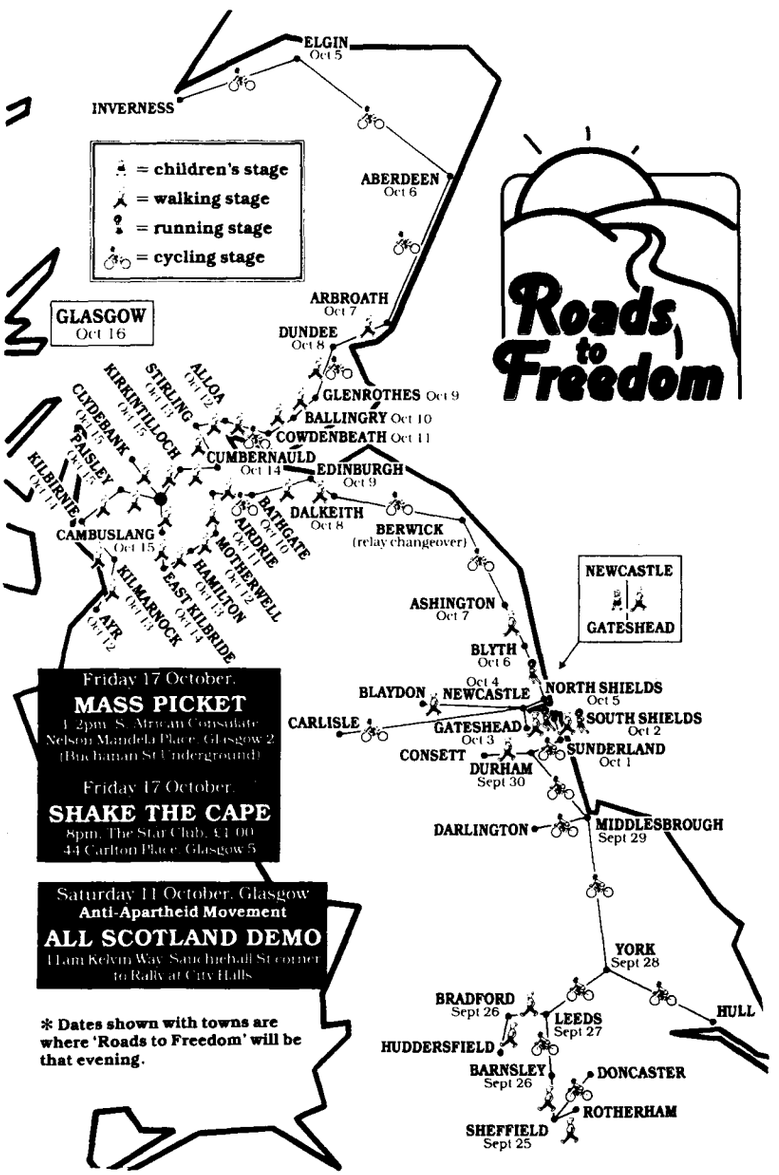
Your convenor will sign your sponsorship form(s) confirming the number of miles you have completed.

If you are getting sponsorship

Send the money to 'Roads to Freedom', 16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY

FOR ALL STAGES BETWEEN:

Doncaster to Sheffield Bill Black, 8 Pembroke Ave, Doncaster. (0302) 857837.
Rotherham to Sheffield Bill Gledhill, 17 Hall Rd, Moorgate, Rotherham S6D 2BP. (0709) 374672.
Sheffield to Barnsley Jamie Lang, 53 Scott Rd, Burngreave, Sheffield S4 7BG. (0742) 434975.
Huddersfield to Bradford John Beresford, 103/105 Quarmby, Huddersfield. (0484) 644994.
Barnsley to Leeds Jean Miller, 57 Blacker Rd, Mapplewell, Barnsley S75 6BS. (0226) 386567.
Bradford to Leeds Tony Young, 24 Westfield Rd, Bradford BD9 5EG. (0274) 495809.
Leeds to York Jim Rodgers, 3 Carrholm Rd, Leeds LS7 2WQ. (0532) 689340.
Hull to York Jannie Glen, 105 Cranbrook Ave, off Cottingham Rd, Hull. (0482) 801580.
York to Middlesbrough Pete Shields, 23 Millfield Rd, off Scarcroft, York. (0904) 20762.
Darlington to Durham Brian Deehan, 49 Skelwith Rd, Middlesbrough TS3 7PT (0642) 241588.
Durham to Berwick Chris Harker and Maureen Mulhern, 189 Westgate Rd, Newcastle upon Tyne NE4 6AA, days 091-232 9586, evenings 091-285 8311 or 091-281 8939.
In Scotland Doug Chalmers, 44 Carlton Place, Glasgow G5. 041-429 2558.



*** Dates shown with towns are where 'Roads to Freedom' will be that evening.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions, and since it was evident that the economy would be 'mixed' (ie, partly private) for the foreseeable future, the length of the list was a symbol of socialist intent rather than part of socialist strategy. As the Right argued that not much more nationalisation, if any, was needed 'to give the community power over the commanding heights of the economy' (Gaitskell), the Left called for more of it.

The truth is, that the Right really believed that the British productive system was now working well enough with a bit of macro-economic Keynesian steering, either because it still thought of Britain as one of the world's great and permanent industrial economies which couldn't possibly decline, or because it thought enough had been done to put a mixed system on the right road. The Left almost certainly also underestimated the long-term economic crisis of the country. Labour's victory was the internal aspect of Britain's heroic wartime stand and victory over fascism. Was it conceivable that Britain's finest hour should have left us potentially worse off than the ruined countries we had beaten? Actually it was.

Compared to the six years of Atlee, the six years of Wilson, in spite of useful legislation here and there, appear empty and rudderless

Very little needs to be said about the (with exceptions like India) disastrous international record of the Attlee years, which turned Britain into an American satellite. Partly it was due to the same inability to grasp that Britain was no longer a great power of the first rank; partly to the discovery that economic weakness – believed to be temporary – made us dependent on American goodwill and pressure (eg, Labour reforms depended on an American loan in 1945), partly on ideological anti-communism. It ought to be said that the record of the Labour Left in resisting these tendencies, insofar as they knew about them in time, was better than its feebleness in economic matters. Still, once again the absence of any specifically Labour foreign policy must be sadly noted.

The fourth period of Labour government, 1964-70, was in its way as disastrous as the second. Labour entered it without a discernible programme or perspective except advertising slogans ('Let's Go With Labour' in 1964, 'You *know* Labour government works' in 1966) and an appeal to gleaming technological modernity which Harold Wilson, who dominated this government, copied from that well-known socialist President Kennedy of the USA: 'We are redefining and we are re-stating our socialism in terms of the *scientific revolution*' (H Wilson).

In fact, there was some calculation behind this empty rhetoric. Tactically it tried to by-pass the bitter feuding which had divided Right and Left since the end of the Attlee years by avoiding policy commitments. Unfortunately this meant that the government had no particular policy on matters of urgent concern to the British people. Thus it was fairly clear by the mid-1960s that the social security system, no longer so outstanding by world standards, was ripe for some systematic updating and rethinking, but there was no major reform in this field, though at the tail-end of the 1960s Crossman played with plans for pensions reform, which got nowhere. The nearest thing to a coherent policy in the Wilson era was the systematic liberalistion pursued by Roy Jenkins at the Home Office (eg, in the matter of homosexuality, abortion and divorce), but welcome though this was, a) it did not require Labour governments and b) it was not a sufficient substitute for a Labour policy in this area or generally.

But the rhetoric also implied a policy. It assumed the country was on the right road, but held back by 'restrictive practices or outdated methods on either side of industry' (H Wilson). In one way this recognition that something was seriously wrong with the British economy was an advance on the 'revisionism' of the Labour Right in the 1950s, which assumed that production was no longer a problem, so that socialism was no longer about planning and social control, but about 'equality'. In another it was not. For Wilson talked as though Britain would forge ahead without any other major changes, once the restrictions and outdated methods were removed by means of one great inspiring heave.

The civil service would thus be shaken up by forming new ministries, renaming or breaking up old ones, and other bureaucratic games which have since been taken up by the Thatcherites. There was to be a major push into science-based technology, for which distinguished scientists were mobilised. Concorde was one result, but the chief content of Wilsonian industrial policy was an enthusiastic support for capitalist concentration which advanced rapidly in those years with the government's blessing. There was even, under the mercurial George Brown, a 'National Plan' (ie, a document setting out aims for the British economy), but not much was planned. Compared to the six years of Attlee, the six years of Wilson, in spite of useful legislation here and there, appear empty and rudderless.

Governments like to excuse their failures by claiming they have been 'blown off course' by uncontrollable storms. But the Wilson governments were not steering a course. They spent most of their time coping with whatever demonstrated the weakness and vulnerability of the British economy which, as usual, they grossly underestimated. For the great world boom, in which Britain modestly participated, was at its height, and the British people really had 'never had it so good'. But for the first signs of the global golden age ending, and of the dramatic acceleration of Britain's relative decline, the Wilsonians could perhaps have got by as moderately reforming administrators of the marriage between capitalism and the welfare state which was about all they hoped for. As it was they stumbled internationally, and came up against the contradictions between welfare costs and trade union strength on one side and the sluggishness of the economy on the other.

In the course of thus thrashing about, the Wilson government found itself desperately trying to impose legal controls on unions and strikes. This was a triple mistake. Set against a policy which trade unionists recognise as being in the workers' interests, as in 1945-51, union restraint is possible, though it goes against the natural instincts of any union leader, Right or Left. (Bevin hadn't liked it.) In 1948 the TUC actually voted a permanent wage freeze to help along Stafford Cripps' 'austerity'. But the Wilson government did not look and act like a working class government, but only like a slightly more liberal and humanised version of the usual consensus Keynesian Tory government, and (unlike Cripps in 1948) it did not even try to trade off union restraint against some other reform to equalise income or wealth. In the 1970s, when it was too late, this was tried, thanks to Jack Jones of the Transport Workers, in the 'Social Contract'. Second, *legal* compulsion was quite certain to divide the party and the Left. In fact, its opponents included politicians far from the Left (Callaghan, Crosland, Crossman, Marsh), but who could recognise a suicide mission when they saw one. Wilson was defeated because he showed no sense of what the movement was like. But *third*, his failure to impose legal restraint on the unions, once he had himself put it on the agenda, guaranteed that legal control would inevitably become the slogan of the Tories.

Add the totally negative record of these years in foreign policy, and the Wilsonian 1960s come out as badly, in its way, as the 1929-31 Labour government; worse, in some ways, since Wilson succeeded in dividing the party profoundly, but without himself leaving it. After 1931, the cooperation of Right, centre and Left, which made possible the 1945 government, was difficult and troubled enough as it always seems to have been in the Labour Party; but it was at least made possible by the fact that all could agree in damning the traitors who had gone over to the other side. But after 1970 the 'guilty men and women' (whoever one thought they were), were still inside the party, which moved to the left, as its leading right-wingers moved to the right.

The less said about the fifth period of Labour government, the second Wilson and Callaghan years (1974-79), the better. Having lost 11% of its vote or almost one and a half million voters since Wilson's peak, the minority Labour governments of the 1970s were in any case too weak to do much. They lived on by kind permission of Liberals and a few others,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

F·L·A·R·E

UNFAIR DISMISSAL
MATERNITY RIGHTS
HEALTH & SAFETY
MINIMUM PAY
RIGHTS FOR PART-TIMERS

★ LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE – BLACKPOOL '86 ★

The GMB calls on the Labour Movement to campaign for a new charter of rights which will benefit all working people and put the law on the side of the low paid and oppressed.

JOIN THE GMB CAMPAIGN FOR
FAIR LAWS AND RIGHTS IN EMPLOYMENT

GMB ATU MATSA

General Secretary: John Edmonds General, Municipal, Boilermakers & Allied Trades Union Thorne House, Ruxley Ridge, Claygate, Esher, Surrey KT10 0TL. Telephone: Esher (0372) 62081 Telex: 27428 Facsimile: 0372 67164

GREETINGS

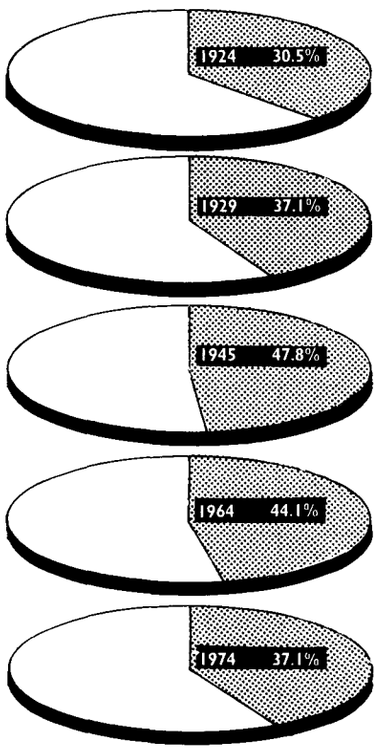
FROM THE TGWU IN THE PURSUIT OF UNITY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF TOMORROW'S WORLD

General Secretary **Ron Todd** *Deputy General Secretary* **Bill Morris**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from hand to mouth, beset by problems on all sides, increasingly unable to control anything, eventually overthrown by a wave of strikes. The most that can be said about them is that they kept the loyalty of the 11.5m of basic Labour voters who went on supporting their party steadily through four elections in that miserable decade. It took the lunacies of secession and infighting after 1979 to lose another 3m Labour votes (or 27% of the remaining Labour electorate) in four years.

Labour's share of the vote



Note: Labour scores in other general elections during its five periods of government were: 1950 46.1%, 1966 47.9%, 1974 (Oct) 39.2%.

What can we learn from this not very inspiring record? First, that Labour governments persistently underestimated the seriousness of the crisis of the British economy and the reality of Britain's decline as an international power. So, of course, did most people in Britain until the middle 1970s, but that is no excuse. Is this still the case? If not – and I think it is not – there is reason for optimism. For if both the British people and the Labour Party and movement are, at last, convinced that our problem is like that of a country defeated and half-destroyed in war, then both can concentrate, without foolish illusions, on the task of national recovery, and envisage the sacrifices it must certainly entail. And this may once again give Labour something like the dynamism and, in spite of all, the temporary unity it had in 1945; and the rest of the British people, the readiness to give a Labour government support, or at least toleration.

The Thatcher years have made this easier in three respects. First, they have so visibly reduced much of Britain to the equivalent of a bomb-site that it is much easier to recognise the life-or-death issue Britain faces. After all, as Tony Benn has said, Thatcher has destroyed much more British industry than Hitler did. Second, they have utterly discredited, in the minds of most people, the privatising 'free market' ideology of the suburban crusaders who dressed up the right of the rich to get richer among ruins as a way of solving the world's and Britain's problems. They have had their chance and we can see what happened. It may even be that in her decline Thatcher will lose her grip on those traditional assets of ancient Toryism, crown and empire, flag and patriotic reflexes. Third, the defeats and setbacks of Labour have been so massive and undeniable (even by many once blind sectarians) that probably conditions for all parts of the movement working together are better than at any time since the 1930s. And it is another lesson of the past that Labour governments divided, or paralysed by fear of division, get nowhere.

In short, a genuine and justifed sense of crisis can push the ideological evangelists back to the fringe of real politics

On the other hand, it will be more dif- ficult in two respects. The distance – even the geographical distance – between the sectors of the British people who are doing well and those who are not has grown so great that the prosperous may be reluctant to make their share of the necessary sacrifices. And what is lacking today, more than ever, is what gave Labour in 1945 so much impetus: the hunger (not only among workers and socialists) for a new and better kind of society, as distinct from revulsion at what has been done to an old society. Also, it must be said honestly, there is not (yet) a lot of confidence in the Labour Party as the engine of national recovery and salvation.

Nevertheless, Labour's best and perhaps only chance is to convince the people that recovery from a major national catastrophe is overwhelmingly the primary task before us. The economy will obviously stay mixed. It was always likely to, and not even the most radical version of the Left's Labour Party programme ever said otherwise. But it is equally clear that, after Thatcherism, there must again be a substantial turn to social control and management in economic and social affairs, not for ideology but for practical reasons. And on the other hand it ought to be clear to workers, as it was to most of them after 1945, that an economy in ruins cannot be regarded as a going concern from which unions can demand rises regardless, even if this or that group could still get a favourable deal for themselves. In short, a genuine and justified sense of crisis can push the ideological evangelists back to the fringe of real politics.

Whether, and how, we advance further towards socialism, and indeed what we actually mean by a socialist Britain (given that even among the socialist states actually in being there are different varieties, not one of them – perhaps excepting Albania – any longer committed to a totally state-run centrally planned economy without market elements) are questions for the future. Without the rebuilding of Britain, we shall hardly get to confronting them. Still, much can and ought to be achieved. 1945 did not give us a socialist Britian, but it changed the face of the nation, profoundly and for the better, and it was Labour's achievement. We can be proud if the next Labour government achieves half as much.

However, 1945 suggests two final les- sons. The first is that a major reforming Labour government should waste no time. Practically the entire progrmme of change was carried out in the first three years of the Attlee government. Delay multiplies obstacles. No doubt this speed was made possible by the substantial unity of Right, centre and Left, but it would also have been impossible without a clear programme. This Labour had in 1945. It didn't have anthing like it in the 1960s and 1970s. And the awful example of the Wilson era shows what happens when a Labour government has nothing in mind except how to get back into office and by-pass internal dog-fights.

The second lesson is that you must know what to do. The temptation to avoid trouble – and bad publicity – by saying as little as possible about future plans is enormous, and, given the internal history of the movement since 1979, more than understandable. But someone must work out what a Labour government would do. If this is done by committees or advisers to shadow ministers, someone has to fit the pieces together. And then these plans have to be identified with the party. Not, as one kind of Labour Left thinks, to hold a Labour leadership consisting of potential traitors to promises extorted from it by conference, but because a Labour government must have an idea of where it is going, what its main problems are and how to tackle them. This is because a Labour government will *not* be, like Wilson, in the kind of politics in which 'a week is a long time', that it cannot just play it by ear or by poll. And this kind of planning does need discussion and formulation. It can't be replaced by rhetoric – socialist, as in 1929, technological as in 1964 – designed to side-step trouble.

Is Labour today in the position of late 1944 – long before an election could be anticipated and several months before it happened – when the national executive had 'precise policy documents... to cover full employment, housing, social security, a national health service, education, control of the banks, public ownership and world peace'? It ought to be.

This is the last lesson of the past, again from the Wilson era. It is not enough, after a period of Labour retreat in the wilderness, to rely on the Tories beating themselves. They may do. They did in 1964. It was enough to give Labour its chance. Which the governments of the 1960s threw away. ●

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Women have been heavily involved in the peace movement. **Kate Soper** argues that we should not accept traditional explanations of masculine and feminine values.

Peace in The Battle of The Sexes

The upshot of all this was that I came to view the whole issue of peace and gender as not only very highly charged politically, but also exceedingly complex

The general thrust of much anti-militarist argument today might be said to find expression in the call for there to be 'womanly times'. It is a compelling rhetoric in some ways, but it also gives me pause. For what are its underlying implications? That women are by nature pacifist or possess some special vocation for peace? That this disposition derives from their maternal function or goes along with some spiritual affinity to nature and its life forces denied to men? That there is some distinctively feminine ('emotive', 'intuitive') way of behaving and thinking that can – and should – be opposed to masculine ('analytic', 'instrumental') modes of action and cognition? That a masculine 'rationality' must yield to, or be tempered by, a feminine 'irrationalism'? Well, possibly all these things are implied. And do I endorse them? Well, possibly, yes and no . . .

Let me offer an autobiographical anecdote in illustration of this ambivalence. It will take us back to that extraordinary gathering of women at Greenham, December 12 1982. Much of what served to make that demonstration original: the decoration of the perimeter fence with personal memorabilia, the symbolic knitting and weaving, the bodily embracing of the base by a human chain, the candlelit vigil with its monotonous chanting and wailing, the siren whoop that alerted the outsider to the doings of the military within the base – all this has since become the stock-in-trade, as it were, of anti-nuclear protest, whether separatist or involving men as well as women.

At the time, however, it did seem, indeed it was, exceptionally innovative, and its potency and creativity impressed one as a very suitable tribute to the inner powers and sources of energy the peace-campers had obviously managed to generate within themselves as a condition of sustaining their mode of life at the base. It felt to me, in fact, as if I were attending at the advent of a new style of political protest: here imagery and symbolism were being used to wonderful effect; here a determinedly non-political discourse – a discourse resolutely disdaining to speak of anything but 'life', 'love' and 'peace' – had been answered by an emergency parliamentary debate; here we had a politics in which the anarchic ideal of order without externally imposed discipline, organisation without leaders, had somehow been realised; here the creative means had been found, against all the odds, to convey in highly persuasive form a message directly challenging the prevailing values of our culture.

'Here', as I wrote enthusiastically at the time, 'were women in their thousands warning the world off from the war-mongers at the door, and darkly hinting to the war-mongers themselves that there are wiles and stratagems that can undo the best-laid plans of men'. And I went on to suggest that this was a mode of protest in which all those, both women and men, committed to the struggle against militarism, might find themselves increasingly involved as they moved into the 80s.

Over the next year, however, my enthusiasm waned somewhat. In the first place, counter to what I had hoped, and half-expected, men were not to be drawn into the protest at Greenham. On the contrary, the separatist tactics were reaffirmed in the ensuing period and became, so to speak, institutionalised. Secondly, I jibbed at a certain strain of mysticism which began to creep into communications issuing from Greenham and to become associated with the peace camp.

My growing unease with this came to a head with the invitation to all those who had been present in December 1982 to return at midsummer (or some other propitious time like the full moon, I can't now remember) to celebrate the festival of the 'Rainbow Dragon'. Through invocation of the 'Rainbow Dragon' we would reawaken buried feminine forces of such puissance that no nuclear arsenals could prevail against them. As part of the rituals we were to bring bits of cloth and whatever materials we had to hand to contrive a patchwork effigy of this ancient matriarchal icon.

My rationalist hackles went up. I penned an aggressively ironic item to *The Guardian*, suggesting that if women behaved like this they had no right to object to the charge of irrationalism, and arguing that such antics could only bring the peace movement into disrepute, thereby undoing all the careful work that had been built up over the last two years. Fortunately, *The Guardian* would have none of it. I say 'fortunately' because within days I came to feel ashamed of the arch, poker-faced 'common sense' of the piece.

It was not that I underwent any sudden conversion to mysticism, but I realised that my sense of affront had something in it of the same unthinking arrogance about the superiority of scientific fact, the same instrumental rationality and no-nonsense approach to 'nature and her mysteries', that I myself detected so easily and found so deplorable in the nuclear militarists and technocrats. The upshot of all this was that I came to view the whole issue of 'peace and gender' as not only very highly charged politically, but also exceedingly complex – indeed as concentrating within it key issues at stake in the politics of feminism generally.

For it seemed to me that no sooner did one start thinking about the issue of women and peace than one was forced to confront an entire tradition of oppositional categories within which sexual difference has been discussed and supposedly accommodated – and to decide where one stood towards it. In other words, associated with, and in some sense underpinning, the idea that peace

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

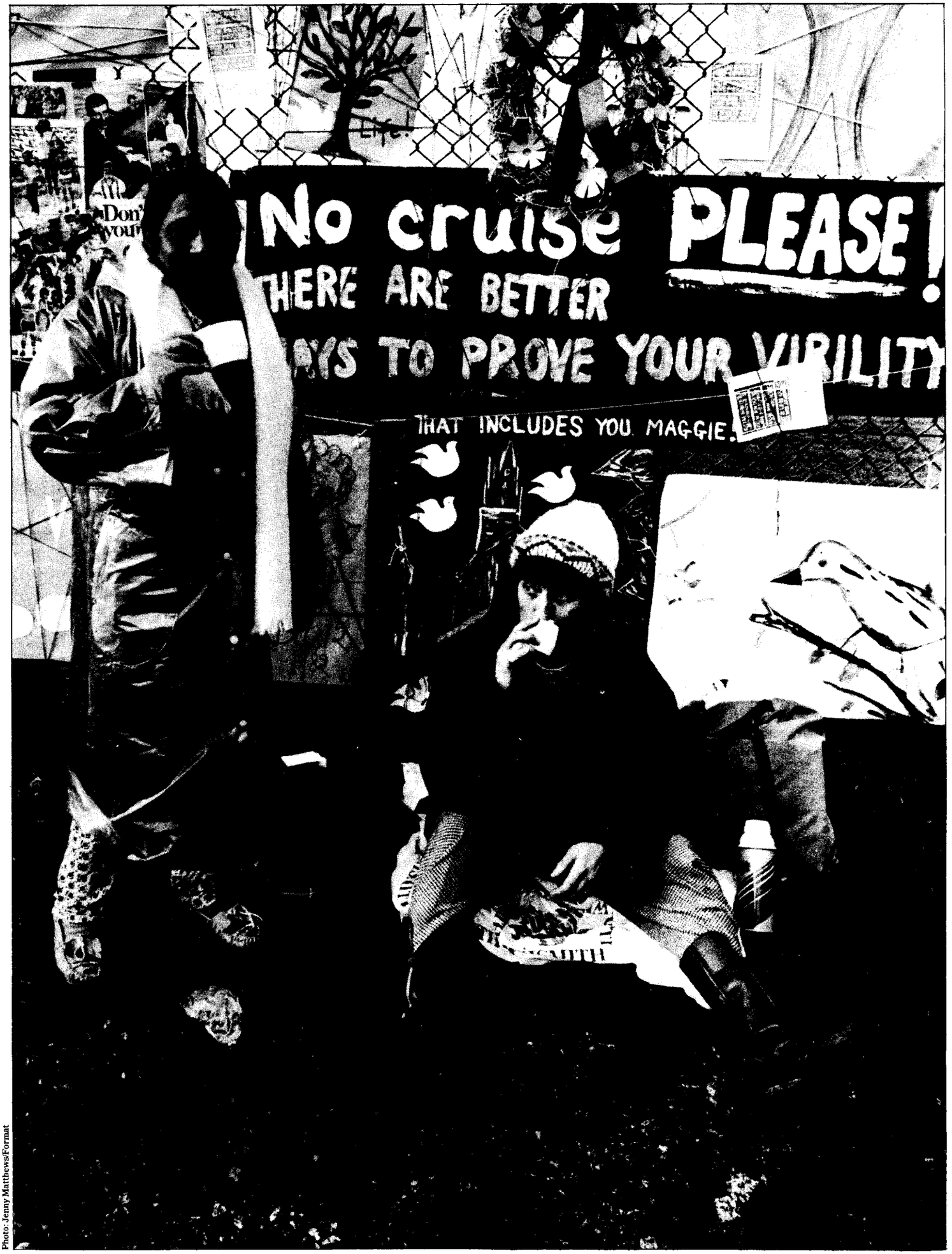
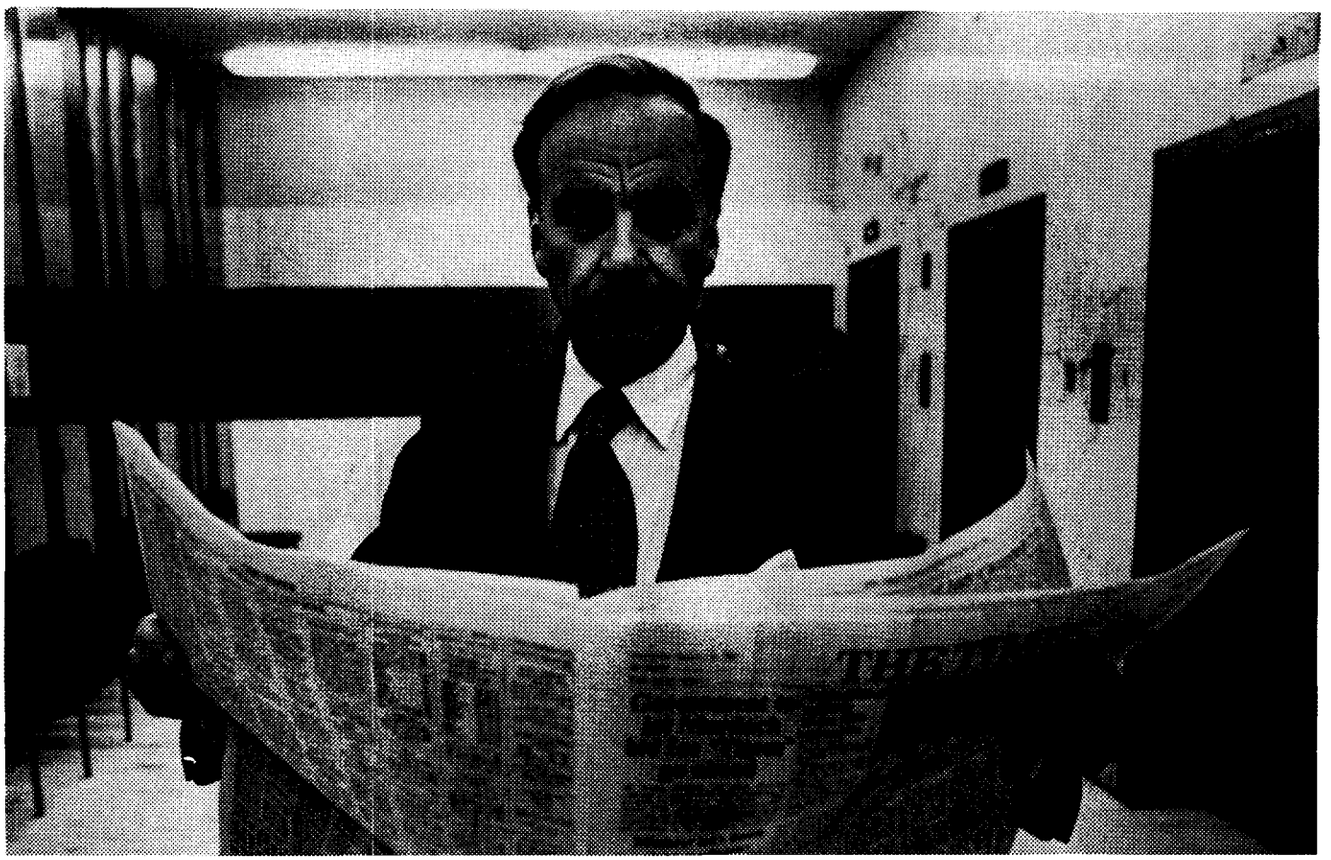


Photo: Jenny Matthews/Format

Greenham Common 1982: new style political protest or institutionalised separatist politics?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The truth?

He couldn't give a XXXX

(If you care, don't buy Murdoch's papers: The Sun, News of the World, Times & Sunday Times)

Published by SOGAT, NGA, AUEW & NUJ, 63-67 Bromham Road, Bedford ♦ Telephone: 0234 51521

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is a 'womanly' disposition, we find a whole series of polar concepts, metaphors and symbolisms of the male-female distinction (active-passive; cultural-natural; logical-intuitive; cognitive-emotive; head-heart; light-dark; sun-moon; day-night etc), many of them figuring in the argument of feminists themselves, and all of them demanding further scrutiny and evaluation.

And this is where my mixed feelings come in. For while I fear that our culture is unlikely to flourish, or even survive, unless there is some definite shift in values towards the pole accounted 'feminine', I am also very reluctant to accept the implied opposition between the 'feminine' and the 'rational', or the notion of a distinctive feminine essence or nature which the call for 'womanly times' might seem to invoke.

For while I certainly accept that the presumed superiority of masculine values is without justification, I would also argue that it will not do simply to reverse that evaluation in favour of those deemed 'feminine'

The problem here is not simply academic, a problem about where one takes one's intellectual stand between scientism on the one hand, and mysticism on the other; it is also a matter of practical politics. Indeed, my feeling is that all thinking about the kind of future we want (about peace, ecology, relations with the Third World, about the family, the care and upbringing of children, the patterning of sexual relations, and so forth) must now register, and somehow come to terms with, the tensions at the heart of these gender antitheses. Equally, when we turn to the strategies to be adopted in pursuit of our goals, our attitudes to these oppositions and what they signify will be found to affect our thinking. They will be involved, for example, in the decisions we make about the wisdom of separatist campaigning, about whether violence of all kinds must be condemned, about the kind of ideology we want associated with our protest, and so on.

At this point, however, I should like to make it clear, to avoid subsequent misunderstanding, that in speaking of 'masculine' and 'feminine' perspectives, I am not assuming that these are perspectives automatically adopted by actual men and women. I use the terms, in other words, as 'gender' categories, that is, as referring to values, behaviours and attributes culturally associated with the male and female biological sexes respectively, and I do not presume any necessary coincidence between sex and gender. Nor shall I be concerned here with the vexed issue of how far gender attributes reflect natural predispositions.

I think there probably is some – fairly minimal – degree of conditioning and reinforcement between that component which is genetically determined in virtue of biological sex, and the characteristics that come to be culturally aligned with the male and female sexes respectively. Indeed, were this not the case, it is not clear how the process of 'genderisation' could have attained any cultural significance in the first place. But even if there is a degree of, for example, genetically determined aggression in men, I cannot accept that this is in any sense a cause or adequate explanation of such phenomena as rape or the extreme violence of war. I no more see an inevitable transition from aggression 'in the nursery', as it were, to the 'maturity' of the nuclear arsenal, than I do from the existence of maternal instincts in women to the economic dependency, domestication and cultural devaluation that has been their historical lot.

I should also say that I am well aware what a conceptual hornets' nest is stirred up when one starts invoking (as I have) notions of the 'rational' and 'irrational' in connection with gender issues. The main question here is how far one can use these terms as if they were neutral, how far they themselves belong to an already gendered vocabulary. I do not think this is an easy question: thus, as I have indicated, certain strands of feminism, assuming the 'gendered' nature of these terms, now celebrate the feminine 'irrational' as an intuitive, diffuse, non-analytical form of thinking to be counterposed to a 'masculine' reason – the latter thereupon becoming for them the pejorative 'other' of a laudable feminine unreason.

But to take that line is, of course, to burn the bridges across which one might otherwise have passed in order to congratulate the women at the peace camps for the sanity and reason which they oppose to the madness of the arms race, or to approve the rationality of the feminist response against the sheer irrationality of the nuclear technocrats.

Hitherto, I have highlighted my ambivalence towards the call for 'womanly times'. But this is not to contest the very real sense in which women can be said to be the 'pacifist' sex. Even less is it to disparage them for being it. Certainly, the majority of women today (as in the past) follow the pattern of the majority of men in seeming to have no very special concern with promoting peace. Nevertheless, no one would sensibly want to deny the very extensive involvement and high profile of women within the contemporary peace movement, or the very distinctive – and positive – role that 'feminine' ideas and values have had in shaping its politics and image.

Equally undeniable is the extent to which this involvement continues a very long tradition of linkage between feminist and anti-militarist causes whose basis and rationale is to be found, at least in part, in the nurturing role of women. In other words, I think there is a good measure of truth in the standard explanation for the 'pacifist' tendencies of women – namely that as those who conceive and give birth to life, and who have been almost exclusively responsible for the care of the young, women are bound to deplore anything that tends to the violent destruction of life.

And there is surely much truth, too, in one of the implications of this account: that had more men been more directly involved in the intimate day-to-day caring of children, militaristic values might have become less prevalent and esteemed in our culture. Insofar, then, that the call for 'womanly times' is interpreted as a demand that a much more respectful hearing be given to the arguments against war of those most directly responsible for the reproduction and nurturing of the human species, then it seems to me uncomplicatedly valid.

I would insist, too, that never have these arguments been more pertinent or deserved more serious attention that at the present time – when what is at stake in any recourse to arms on a global scale is the very continuation of life on earth. In the past, the general devaluing of the nurturing role has allowed 'feminine' attitudes to war to be standardly associated with a contemptible 'familiocentricity' and hence not regarded as seriously challenging.

Women have been viewed as incapable of transcending the concerns of the immediate family circle in order to involve themselves in matters of state and 'public life', and hence to arrive at an understanding and appreciation of the more universal values that issues of national defence and foreign policy bring into play. Ignorant of these realities, and unheeding of 'King and country', women, so this story has it, have been opposed to war simply because it threatens the destruction of their nearest and dearest.

This is, of course, an ideology which feminists would want to challenge, but I shall here limit myself to one or two of particular relevance to the cause of the peace movement. Firstly, even if we accepted that it is a loyalty to kith and kin rather than a concern for the 'public interest' that is reflected in women's attitudes to war, it is, of course, only from a standardly 'masculine' conception of the 'public interest' – a conception that is singularly inappropriate in an age of nuclear weaponry – that this set of priorities can be viewed as petty, selfish or submissive.

It is precisely this downgrading of 'personal' attachment in favour of 'national' interest – the abstraction from what we share with each other as human beings and highlighting by contrast of what is exclusive to us as members of a given nation state – that needs to be rethought as a condition of long-term peace. It is one of the great strengths of 'feminine' argument in the peace movement today that it has made explicit the manner in which traditional arguments against violence imply a fundamental critique of military values and priorities. In defending arguments against war that have typically been dismissed as 'petty' and 'womanly', feminist anti-militarism is also attacking the whole framework of nationalism invoked in justification of military aggression.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

READ THE WORLD

Readers International brings you today's world literature. Each hardcover volume, by subscription, is just £4.75. (regularly to £9.95)

It is early 1986, in Manila. The world watches the revolution toppling Marcos. But few can know the whys or wherefores behind those dramatic TV images. Now prize-winning Filipino novelist Linda Ty-Casper's new novel *Wings of Stone* lets us feel that urgency—from the *other* side of the lens—right up to those days of deliverance. Through the eyes of Johnny Manalo, from his landing on the tarmac where Aquino was killed, we enter a nightmare world of violence and corruption in this crucible for change in Asia.

From Brazil, Antônio Torres' *The Land* brings us the harsh, lyrical world of the Backland region, whose peasants survive with grim humour, and whose children long for the phantom riches of São Paulo. This modern Brazilian classic on the conflict between the rural and the urban now comes into English for the first time.

Next to Africa and the satirical *Laugh-to-Cry*, as the great Congolese novelist Henri Lopez lampoons the supreme African dictator—Amin, Bokassa, Mobutu, all in one—who moves overnight from the barracks to the Presidential Palace. Funny but searing: Lopez' satire bites with anger and sadness at Africa's burden of butcher-clowns.

"Ty-Casper's prose glitters" ***Publishers Weekly*** **The riveting story of the last years of Marcos rule.**

New from **The Philippines**

WINGS OF STONE

Fiction, says André Brink, has a way of recording a truth deeper than fact. Through READERS INTERNATIONAL (**RI**) you can explore new worlds of fiction, worlds seen more clearly, stories told more freshly than in any news report.

"*A splendid and important enterprise and worth supporting*," says the Financial Times.

RI works like a magazine subscription—every other month you receive a new and timely book: handsome hardcover editions at the special price of £4.75 + 75p postage. Your subscription helps fund the translation and printing of some of the world's finest literature.

Subscribe now for a *good read* and help bring some of today's most gifted writers into English. "Readers International is exciting: good books—and a good cause," says A. Whitney Ellsworth, publisher of the *New York Review of Books*. Return the coupon now to receive your first volume.

ALREADY LAUNCHED by readers like you: Antonio Skármeta's *I Dreamt the Snow Was Burning*, "the most accomplished piece of literature to come out of Chile since Pinochet took power"—Village Voice; *My Merry Mornings* by Ivan Klíma, "charming and comic stories about Prague, irrepressibly cheerful and successfully written"—Financial Times. Osvaldo Soriano's *A Funny Dirty Little War* (Argentina)—"feisty and brawling, rooted in the reality of the nation"—NY Times Bk Rev. *Poland Under Black Light* by Janusz Anderman—"an honest and powerful voice...he undercuts the lies of one side and the mythology of the other"—New Statesman. *Fools* by Ndebele (S. Africa), "Intricate and subtle...unusual depth"—*LA Times*.

READERS INTERNATIONAL

8 Strathray Gardens, London NW3 4NY

Please begin my subscription to RI's series with *Wings of Stone* at the £4.75 subscriber price plus 75p for postage. Send RI's latest book at the same price every other month. At any time I may cancel simply by writing you.

NAME

ADDRESS

TOWN CODE COUNTRY

☐ £5.50 (£7 overseas) to Readers International is enclosed. (North American subscribers, please send US$9.95/Can$12.50, incl. postage, to RI Subscriber Service Dept., P.O. Box 959, Columbia, LA 71418.)

SPECIAL SAVINGS: Prepay a year's subscription for six books at £3.75 each plus 75p postage.

☐ **I enclose my payment for £27 inland, US$48, Can$58, £35 sterling elsewhere.**

M 10

How **RI** Selects Books: Literary merit is the first consideration of **RI**'s editors and advisors. Many of these works were initially banned at home or written in exile: **RI** is committed to publishing literature in danger. Each is current, from the past 10 years. Each is new to readers here—although many have been acclaimed in European editions. Subscribe now and give these powerful writers a voice in English, all at a very modest price.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If the aim is to develop nurturing capacities and feelings in men, then close relations and co-operation between the sexes are surely a precondition

Its supposedly 'passive' resistance to war on the grounds of the suffering and bereavement it inflicts is grounded on principles that imply an 'active' onslaught on the macho-jingoism of the 'Gotcha!' Falklands cast of mind with its callous dissociation from the pains and losses of the 'enemy'. In other words, a 'feminist' emphasis on the destruction of life and the personal agony caused by war is crucial to dismantling the militarism that flourishes on a refusal to acknowledge the humanity of the enemy.

It is, furthermore, of absolute importance in an age of nuclear armaments that the conception of the 'national interest' or 'public good' which has so often been invoked in justification of war in the past, should be discredited. For in a world where any recourse to arms threatens wholesale destruction of human life, there can be no genuine commitment to defence of 'national' or 'public' good that does not rest on a commitment to non-violent means of conflict resolution. In other words, the 'feminist' arguments against militarism, which have so often in the past been scorned for their failure to understand what is really at issue in matters of national defence, are the only ones that have not become anachronistic in an age of nuclear weapons.

For where the war at issue is nuclear war, not only does the distinction between 'military' and 'civilian' functions collapse, but so, too does the traditional opposition between a supposedly feminine 'domestic and private' antipathy to war and a masculine patriotism and public-spiritedness. So far has this mode of thinking become inappropriate in a nuclear world, that we now have a situation in which in the interests of species survival (and what more public than that?), women have been deserting hearth and home to squat among the military.

Of course, there are certain situations – South Africa today is a case in point – where the arguments for and against resort to violent means are by no means so clear cut. Nor, to my mind, can one endorse all the rhetoric invoked in support of the feminine perspective. The frequently heard injunction for women 'to take the toys from the boys' might be a case in point, for reliant as it is on the image of woman as natural childminder, it tends to perpetuate rather than confound current assumptions about the sexual division of labour and gender roles, and with its intimation that 'boys will be boys', even implies that nurturing is some special domain of activity for which men are incurably unfitted.

That said, there can be no denying, I think, that a general shift in cultural values of the kind demanded by the feminist critique of militarism will be essential to our long-term survival. The question then remains, what formulation we want to give to the alternative 'feminine' values, and in particular how far we are happy to allow their association with irrationalism.

My own position is that we should continue to insist on their rationality as an antidote to the irrationality of nuclear escalation – and indeed to much that is done today in the name of science and human progress. But to press for this is, of course, to accept a 'neutral' conception of reason – a conception based on certain common standards of cognition, certain agreements about what a 'fact' or a 'knowledge' is, certain shared assumptions about the purposes of acquiring knowledge, and so on. And to accept that is to accept that there is a certain type of response (the 'Rainbow Dragon' type) to the irrationalism of the militarists that must itself be condemned as irrational.

In other words, in the name of ushering in an alternative, yes, if you like, more 'feminine' conception of rationality (at any rate a rationality that recognises that child-rearing is not opposed as 'animal, non-cognitive' behaviour to the 'rational' activity of bomb-making) we eschew all such nonsense as the following: 'To many of us feminists aware of the Goddess within us, and in the universe, radical pagans, greens and general lovers of the Earth our Mother, the celebration of the ancient festivals is becoming increasingly important. The Wise Women (and men) – the wicce/ Witches – went to the stake rather than forsake the Goddess and her son, the Horned one, in their seasonal changes . . .'

But to reject this kind of mysticism is one thing. To formulate a critique of it reliant neither on the standard arguments used in support of 'masculine' instrumental rationality, nor reinforcing of traditional conceptions of the 'masculine-feminine' divide is another.

And this brings me to a final point. **For** while I certainly accept that the presumed superiority of masculine values is without justification (and also very dangerous), I would also argue that it will not do simply to reverse that evaluation in favour of those deemed 'feminine'. For in the last analysis, these remain the oppositional sets of values which conjointly have brought us to our present crisis, which is the crisis of our species existence as a whole, and which in that sense cannot be made the sole responsibility of one sex rather than another.

The disaster we now face – nothing less than the possible extinction of our species (along with most other life forms on the planet) – requires, I believe, something more in the nature of a 'quantum leap' in terms of the transmutation of values and life-styles, and this must put in question any current 'dialectic' of gender difference and affect all parties.

In other words, if it is acknowledged, as it surely must be, that the 'feminine' too has been at work in the creation of our current situation, then it must also surely be acknowledged that overcoming its alienations may depend not on a mere inversion of the oppositional gender values, but on their transcendence – a transcendence involving more than a one-sided critique of rationality.

And all of this will involve also, I think, looking at separatist strategies from the means-ends point of view, which is to say, questioning the wisdom of those strategies if the ends sought are those of human coexistence. Separatist peace activists might also do well to ponder the dilemma posed by the 'let there be womanly times' type of call: for if the aim is to develop nurturing capacities and feelings in men, then close relations and co-operation between the sexes are surely a precondition?

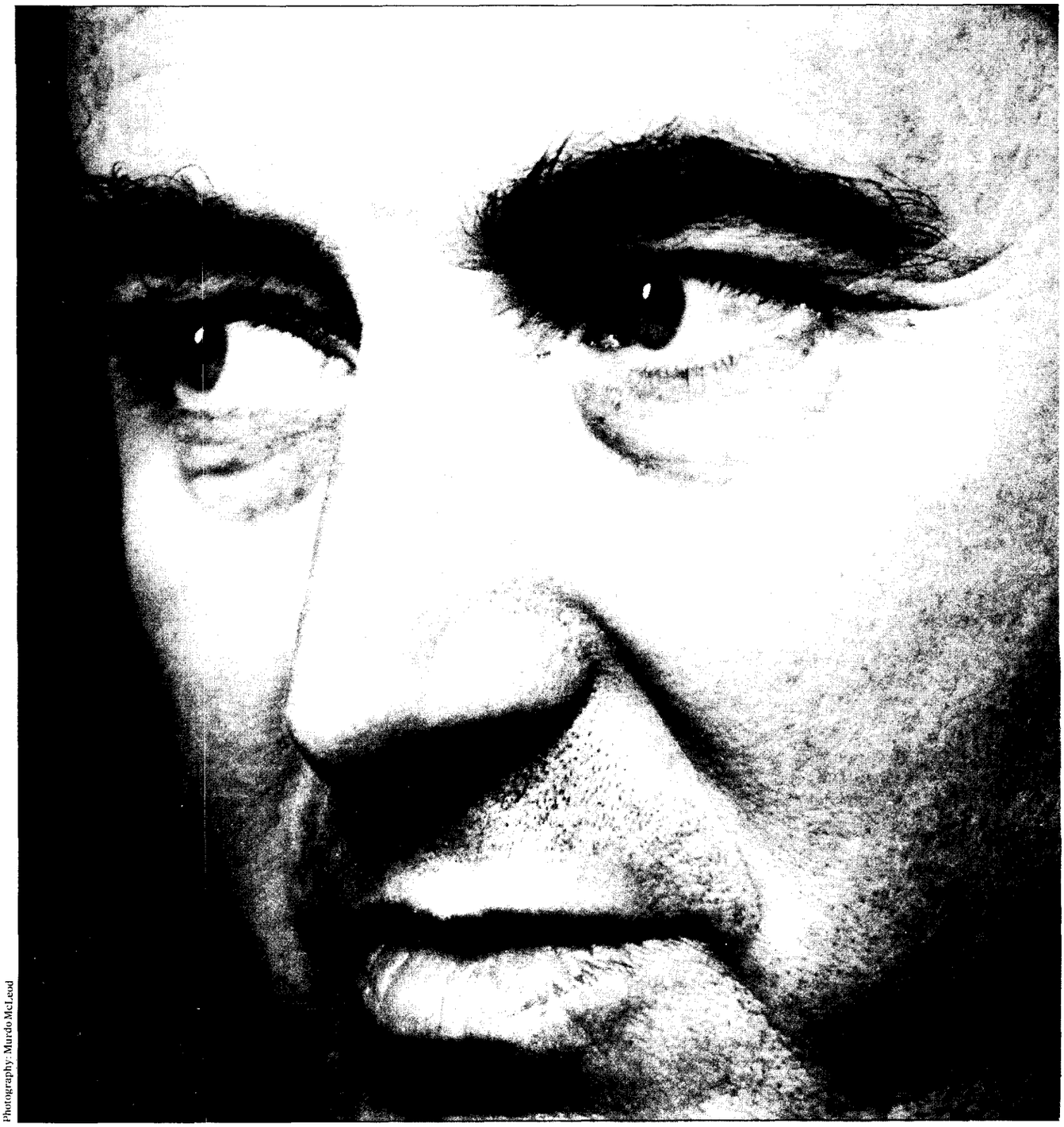
But at this point, of course, we are back with the question of futures, and what conceptions we have of the modes of existence we want to promote. My own position is that as part of their celebration of life-values which constitutes the core of their anti-nuclear protest at the present time, feminists should be seeking to develop a more positive 'utopian' conception of relations between the sexes – to promote, in short, a less divisive gender politics. But that's an essay for another day. ●

This article is a slightly amended version of one written for *END Journal* and which appears in its Oct/Nov issue.

Photo: Orde Eliason/Link

South Africa 1986: are women really the 'pacifist' sex?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Photography: Murdo McLeod

As far as modern Liberalism was concerned, Keynes and Beveridge were the father figures. Not Adam Smith, or anybody else who might have been around

You've just celebrated 10 years as leader of the Liberal Party, and something over 20 years as an MP. How do you see what's happened in those 20 years compared with your expectations when you first started?

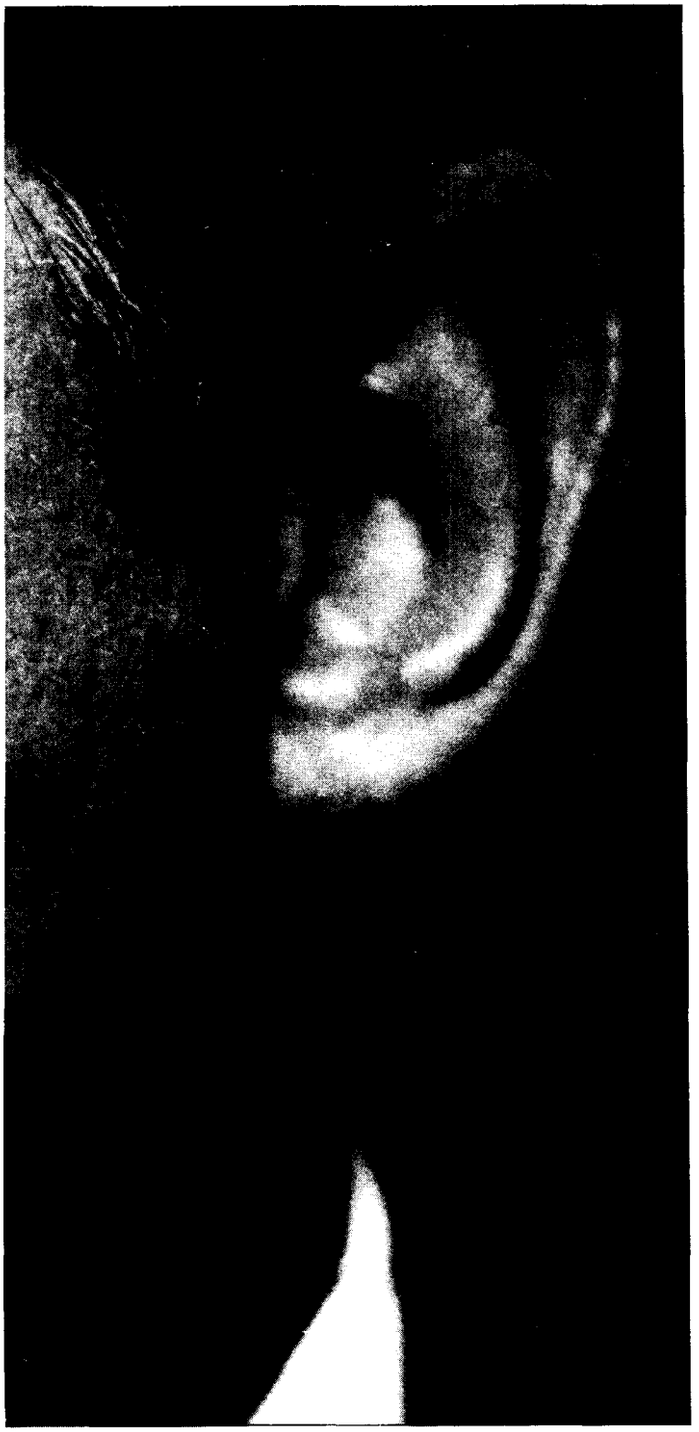
When I first started I didn't really have much in the way of expectations. I came into the House through a series of pieces of good fortune at a very early age. The Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale seat became vacant because the candidate fell out with the constituency association. I was moved from Edinburgh in here, got to know the area and obtained a reasonably good result in the 1964 election. Then the sitting MP died two months afterwards, so we had a sudden by-election and then I was in the House.

It was a reasonably good time for the Liberals in Scotland. But it was also still very much the old Liberal Party, a party of the celtic fringes. Its upsurge was focused very much on the disenchantment of the remoter parts of the country – Devon and Cornwall and the Highlands – from over-centralised government, rather than from any general upward movement of a more relevant political philosophy. Even though there had been signs of that around the Orpington period in 1962, it had faded away again by 1964. When I came in I brought the number of Liberal MPs up to 10. I thought that in itself was a major achievement. I didn't know what the prospects for the Liberal Party would be. And there was no sign of anything dramatic happening on the scale we've seen today.

At that stage I was therefore much more interested in issues than in political machinery. That's why, very early on in my time in parliament, I got involved in the kind of issues where one could work effectively with people across the party spectrum – the anti-apartheid movement, the abortion law reform, the Shelter campaign. Things like that rather than the Liberal Party as such.

And the resignation of Jo Grimond in early 1967 obviously disappointed me because I was very much a Grimond disciple. It just didn't seem as if there was any particular upsurge for the Liberal Party at that time, what with his departure and then when we didn't do very well in the 1970 election, falling back to six MPs.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Importance of Being Liberal

Malcolm Rutherford and **Martin Jacques** talk to the leader of the Liberal Party about the rise of the Alliance and the problems it now faces.

Did you think about quitting then?
No, no.

Or changing party?
No. The only time I ever got near to contemplating changing party was back in my student days, because I was very impressed by Gaitskell on a visit that he made to Edinburgh University. But my basic objection to the Labour Party at that time, which I suppose has remained until this day, was that it didn't seem to me to represent a coherent philosophy. It had two completely different and incompatible elements within it. And while I identified myself roughly with one element, I didn't see much joy in joining an organisation where one would be quite clearly in the minority element.

You belong to a coalition now.
Yes I do, but it's a coalition with a common purpose. That's the difference.

To what extent do you still see the Liberal Party as a party associated with the tradition of Keynes and Beveridge?
I see it totally as identified with them. And I say that because there are others, not so much now but certainly in my earlier days in the party, who saw the foundation of the Liberal Party not in terms of Keynes and Beveridge at all, but of earlier figures. Indeed, we lost people from the Liberal Party who described themselves as neo-liberals, of the sort of Thatcherite school. I was reading the other day that Arthur Seldon was involved in the Liberal Party in Orpington at the time of the by-election. He was typical of a certain school of Liberal who abounded in the party at that time. It was one of Jo Grimond's achievements that he changed the tone and posture of the party and made it clear that as far as modern Liberalism was concerned, Keynes and Beveridge were the father figures. Not Adam Smith, or anybody else who might have been around.

So how, in retrospect, do you see the development of the postwar Liberal Party? What were the key moments?
In the postwar period the Liberal Party was a complete mess. In the decade 1945-55 the parliamentary Liberal Party, represented by a dozen or so, were regularly divided in opposite lobbies.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There was no cohesion of purpose, and people were drifting off into the Tory Party or the Labour Party. All the Liberal Party was, was the left-over remains of a once-great party. It didn't seem to have any relevance to modern political thought. The fact that we now have mass support as a party is largely due to the foundation that Jo Grimond laid. He turned it round in the decade that he was leader, even though he didn't actually enjoy the fruits of it in his time as leader. He made it forward looking, not backward looking, a party which was analysing Britain's problems in terms of the decade or two ahead, and not hankering after the past glories of Liberalism.

Very early on in my time in parliament, I got involved in the kind of issues where one could work effectively with people across the political spectrum

Do you see the Liberal Party as being strongly attached to many of the values associated with the period of consensus prior to 1979, for which in many ways the intellectual inspiration was Keynes and Beveridge? I'm thinking of full employment, a rather larger and more active public sector, and so on.

Yes I do, and this is reflected in the kind of positions that we've taken on votes in parliament, even during the Thatcher period. It was reflected certainly in the time of the Lib-Lab pact. In other words we are not hostile, for example, to the state sector. Some of the older Liberals would criticise us for that and say you must reduce the state sector. Well, all right, there are parts of the state sector that can be usefully transferred to the private sector. But as a matter of doctrine, I do not share the Thatcher view that this is a desirable end in itself and that somehow it creates a better society. I think the underlying philosophy of Keynes and Beveridge is remarkably in tune with some of the policies of today on issues like employment, social security and the health service.

One of the things that is very striking about the Liberal Party in the last 20 years, starting with the Grimond period and the development of the Liberal Party as a party left of centre, has been its attachment to a series of quite radical causes – community politics, moral issues like abortion, and anti-apartheid – while there is now a strong green and CND presence within the party both at a local level and at your assembly. How do you see the Liberal Party as a political animal?

It's always been a difficult political animal, precisely because of the different strands within it. Moral issues are not strictly party issues. Things like abortion, homosexual law reform and the abolition of capital punishment were going through at the time I came into the House. Liberals were in the main on the side of reform, but they were not party issues. And there were some Liberals who were against all these things. But in the main I would say these reforms were in tune with Liberal philosophy.

As to the development of community politics, again I would have thought that it was absolutely fundamental to Liberal philosophy. It was just that nobody had actually practised it. It was there in theory all the way along – that we believe in decentralisation, we believe in people having more local control over their lives, and community politics was a way of starting to get that across.

A large element in it at the beginning, and I would say still today, is that it was also a way of counteracting the advantage enjoyed by the mass organisations of the Conservative and Labour parties, to start building up from grassroots level, in particular in local government. That's had its pluses and its minuses. It's often been quite a headache. But it has unquestionably produced the sort of hard backbone to the party that we have now.

After the Grimond era, the Liberal Party experienced several breakthroughs. The vote in the February 1974 election was one of them. You would agree with that?

Yes. But the danger with that was that it was rather Orpington plus. It was the anti-Conservative tide at the end of a period of Conservative government, which it was becoming very easy for the Liberals to pick up on. The difference, though, was that in the run-up to the 1974 election, the community politics strategy had been working along with the anti-Tory tidal wave so that there was rather more solidity to it.

Where it came apart in my view, was that once you'd got that far, and you were faced with a difficult parliamentary position through 1974 with the narrow majority, then the other element in the party's thinking was not at all clear – there was no coalition strategy, there was no idea as to how you got from a soft tide of support, with rudimentary organisation in some places, to the next stage. And it was that which was missing.

We really didn't address those questions when we went into the October 1974 election, which in my view is why we fell back a bit. Because all we were able to say was onwards and upwards – give us a few more votes and some more seats and something will happen. And when asked what the something was, the stock answer was 'we'll have a Liberal government.' And they'd say 'well, wait a minute, how do you go from whatever it was we had – 14 MPs – to being a Liberal government?' The thing lacked credibility.

The next two breakthroughs were presumably the Lib-Lab pact and then the Alliance.

I wouldn't put the Lib-Lab pact into the same category. I don't think that was a breakthrough, except in forcing the Liberal Party to face up to some awkward questions.

What was your relationship to the formation of the SDP? Were you in favour of it?

Some people did talk to me about the possibility of forming some sort of breakaway from the Labour Party, lesser lights like Tom Ellis and Neville Sanderson. Immediately after the 1979 election, Roy Jenkins, then an EEC commissioner, spoke to me about his re-entry problem after Brussels. He said he would like to form something new, and what did I think about this. I was very encouraging because I believed that if people formed some new organisation to work in parallel with the Liberal Party, that would have more impact than the Liberal Party gaining the odd two or three new recruits, however distinguished. It wouldn't have the catalytic effect that forming something new would have. So I certainly encouraged him to form something new. He also said that if nothing new got off the ground, he didn't rule out the possibility of joining the Liberal Party as an individual without playing an active part in politics.

The next great stage was the breakaway of Shirley Williams, David Owen and Bill Rodgers.

That's right. I actually had less contact with them. They at that time had the gang of three and they were writing their own open letters to *The Guardian* and so on. But I think the three of them did not appreciate – and certainly Shirley has admitted this subsequently – the potential the Liberal Party had to offer. In fact they were remarkably ignorant of what Liberal Party policies were. Roy did appreciate it because of his historical associations with the party, and also because he had been out of the country and was able to look objectively at what was going on, whereas the others had been working in the Labour government.

They weren't really thinking in terms of the Liberal Party as being at all important in their scenario. It was all to do with divisions and redivisions within the Labour Party. So their perspective was a bit different. But certainly the fact that he and they were able to get together meant that the thing really went off with a bang. But I had no discussions with the other three at that time that I can recall.

Which brings us to the position of the Alliance now. How do you see it?

We're in a remarkably good position to move on. If you look at the opinion polls and local government results taken together, month by month, we have had a consistently higher level of support in this parliament than we had in the last parliament. What we had in the last parliament was the advantage of those tremendous peaks – at Warrington and Crosby. But they were peaks. They were like the old Liberal pattern – some great publicity and by-election success and then down again. Whereas what we've had in this parliament is a steady holding on in there.

There is a new factor in this parliament

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

compared with the last though. The Labour Party not only looks much less divided, indeed very much more united, than in 1981-3, but also under Kinnock's leadership it's occupying more of the ground which previously was appealed to by the Alliance.

I agree with part of that, but not all of it. First of all, the advantage that the Labour Party got from the change of leadership was a temporary advantage. If I were in Neil Kinnock's shoes, the thing that would disappoint me now is that having got that advantage, they haven't been able to sustain it. If you are hoping to be in at the next election, you've got to show that, before it arrives, you're running streets ahead of the government, because at the election itself that gap tends to close. Now the Labour Party isn't in that position.

Now I suspect that the departure of those who left the Labour Party to form the SDP has had a more debilitating effect on the Labour Party than was realised at the time by any of us – either in the Labour Party or outside it. It has actually lost its broad coalition appeal, however hard Neil Kinnock tries – and he has been trying very hard – to restore that position. It's very difficult for Kinnock to persuade people that the Labour Party really is the old coalition you loved, when in fact you've got the real Labour Party on the ground doing some quite extraordinary things, not just Militant, but the rows over reselection and the continuing adoption of slates of parliamentary candidates of a more left variety. I think the electorate's perception is that the Labour Party is not the same Labour Party that they used to know.

But a Labour government under Neil Kinnock would probably be in many ways quite a moderate affair. There's a difference between public perceptions, and any time lag that might exist in relation to that, and what the Labour Party under Neil Kinnock might actually do. There was a stage when Thatcherism begat a very radical left-leaning Labour Party but that phase seems to have come to an end. You must recognise that?

Yes, if there were a Labour government tomorrow it would possibly be a rather tame affair, except in some areas. I don't know how they're going to resolve the whole question of their foreign and defence policies, given the party's present commitments. In that area they are in real trouble because I find in my conversations with members of the shadow cabinet very different views as to what will actually happen. Will the Americans be told to remove all their bases from this country or not? What's the effect going to be on NATO? Certainly our European and American allies do not share the assumption that all will be well if there's a Labour government.

Equally though, people talk about dissent within the Alliance on defence. Isn't this expressive of a wider cleavage? Aren't you and the Liberal Party rather closer to Kinnock, with David Owen and some of the Social Democrats on the other hand rather closer to Thatcher?

This has become a bit of a caricature of the Alliance.

But there is something in it.

No, I don't think there is anything in it really. If there is anything in it, it's purely a question of style and temperament rather than substance. I mean what sort of issues are we talking about?

Market economics.

As I pointed out after David Owen made that great speech about the social market economy, if I'd made it nobody would have paid the slightest attention, because we've always believed in the social market economy. It was only remarkable because he was a former member of the Labour Party. He's not a free market economist in the Thatcherite sense at all, and to suggest that is to traduce what he actually believes in.

One very noticeable difference is in the nature of the two parties, for example your assembly compared to the SDP conference.

Yes, I accept that. But that's what I'm saying. It's a question of style and temperament rather than substance. There is certainly nothing that leads me to think that the policy orientation of the SDP and the policy orientation of the Liberal Party identifies us in different ways with the other two parties. I just don't accept that at all. I think it's a false assumption which we may be partly guilty ourselves of having allowed to gather ground, because it keeps getting repeated. It does happen that I'm personally very antagonistic to Thatcherism, and for that matter to Mrs Thatcher as a politician for whom I don't have a great deal of time. I happen to like Neil Kinnock. But that has nothing to do with the policies which the two of them pursue. David Owen on the other hand . . .

He likes Mrs Thatcher . . .

I'm not saying that he likes her but he has a certain admiration for her which I don't share and we've discussed it often. But to go from that, from these statements, to say that therefore there is a sort of political orientation which is different is wrong. You can have personal feelings about other poiliticians without necessarily dividing on ideological or policy lines.

After the election, presumably there will have to be some sort of redefinition of the relationship between the parties in the Alliance. You've spoken about union. It could be a formal merger. How do you see that going?

I've been very cautious, and will continue to be, about trying to determine now what the pattern will be after the election because I genuinely don't want to start a great debate in the two parties about the shape of the organisation which we might have after the election. If we were going to start that hare running, we should have done so a couple of years ago and gone through all the torture of discussion, rewriting constitutions and so on. I wouldn't myself have been averse to doing that but David Owen certainly would have been, and it takes two to agree and I can quite see that if I were a Social Democrat I might have agreed with David Owen. You don't found a new party in 1981 in order to knock it on the head three years later.

But can you knock it on the head six years later?

If by that time the role of the individual

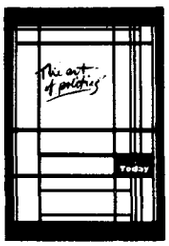
party is much less than the role of the Alliance as such, then yes I think you can. We have created a new political entity. That certainly wasn't the case two years ago. It may well be the case by the time we've gone through another election together. But although my personal inclination is to think that probably the parties will decide on some kind of union or merger after the next election, I am certainly not wholly committed to that view myself, even though it's my own inclination, because I want to see how we get on through the period up to and during the next general election campaign and its aftermath.

It is likely that the Liberals will continue to have more parliamentary seats than the SDP just because of the nature of the constituencies where you are contesting. Does that make very much difference to the balance of power within the Alliance?

No it doesn't, because the parties have different strengths in different areas. It is true that the Liberal Party has the stronger parliamentary representation and, as you say, probably will have on most given scenarios. That is also generally true in local government. It has a bigger membership in the country. It's got all these on the plus side.

But the SDP has got other assets. It does have figures of substantial ministerial experience which is very important for the credibility of the whole exercise. They've also got their own policy-making machinery which is a model of how a party ought to set about

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Clarity of ideas and presentation have always been central to *Marxism Today*.

This month's issue serves to underline this commitment. The new design coupled with new features will, we hope, further enhance the magazine's perceptive and innovative approach to current affairs and culture – one which commands respect from friends and foes alike.

Past, present and future cry out for dogma-free, imaginative analysis. Don't settle for the tired old performances: find out how the art of politics comes alive every month through the pages of *Marxism Today*.

The art of politics...

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

3 months FREE . . . and a set of 'Art of Politics' postcards! Subscribe now and receive 15 months' issues for the price of 12 – along with a set of 4 new postcards based on designs from Miró to Mondrian.

Name_____ Address_____

Please send cheque/PO for £11.40 (UK)/£20 (Overseas)
Or: Please debit my Access/Visa card No (delete as appropriate)

Signed_____ STUVW

Return (no stamp needed) to: *Marxism Today* Subscriptions, FREEPOST, Bletchley, Milton Keynes MK1 1PW

Marxism Today

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

making its policy, in a way that the Liberal Party doesn't. I think they've got a lot to teach us on that. And they also have, because they're new, a great deal in terms of modern techniques. We all laugh about the credit card party, but there are great assets to the credit card party and great advantages to their system of direct communication, mail order politics, use of computers and so on, which we shouldn't sneer at because it is complementary to, not a substitute for, the kind of doorstep politics that we have.

Since 1979 we've had Thatcher as prime minister and Thatcherism has held the initiative on the political stage. What's your assessment of Thatcherism and its impact on British politics?

There are some limited aspects of Thatcherism that were inevitable and probably necessary. For example, the balance of power between organised trade unionism and the rest of society has been tilted away, not from trade unionism, that's probably the wrong word, but certainly the trade union barons. Their power has been reduced over a period and that is something which I think is right. Because you've got to have checks and balances in society the whole time. The power they had was increasing, and had to be diminished. That is one aspect of Thatcherism – even though it was done in a rather confrontational and aggressive style, and in my view has gone too far, as in GCHQ – that has probably left something behind that is valuable.

But that's about the only thing I can think of on the plus side. There are so many minuses to Thatcherism that I regard it, and I hope history will judge it, to have been in many ways a rather destructive period for British society. It's been a period when the so-called slimming-down process in industry, part of which again I accept as inevitable, has gone too far; and the lack of any effort centrally, using the sophisticated economic power of government, to try to redress imbalances in our society and in particular to tackle the question of unemployment, has been a mistake. And I think a particular scar that will be left behind is the divisions geographically within the country, which were always there, but which are now far worse than they were before she started.

One of the most interesting contributions the Liberal Party has made to British political debate is around decentralisation; Scottish, Welsh and English parliaments, regional government and PR – if you like, the undermining of the unitary state. How central do you see this question in terms of the Alliance's appeal and approach?

It is pretty crucial because it is one thing I would say that marks us out as being quite different in approach from both the Conservative and Labour parties. Whatever their ideological divides may be, they are still basically concerned with running, in their different ways, the centralised state. We are strongly decentralist, and we have done quite a lot of work on this strand – not just in terms of the mechanics of devolved government, but of all the associated problems that go with it.

These kind of ideas have had quite an impact on sections of the Labour Party, for instance the GLC and Sheffield.

Absolutely.

You recognise this.

I do. Towards the end of the GLC, even though we didn't agree with a lot of its policies and directions, we found ourselves increasingly recognising that there was a common cause, that the basic approach Livingstone was taking to the government of London was something to which we were very sympathetic. That's why we ended up campaigning very strongly against the abolition of the GLC, even though it was slightly politically embarrassing.

The GLC was part of the rise, within the Labour Left, of an anti-statism which previously was quite alien to it and the Labour Party.

My difference, though, is that it isn't really anti-statism, it is local statism. I would argue from what I've seen – I'm not knowledgeable on London, but I have looked quite closely at Merseyside because we have a strong political interest there – that I can pinpoint fundamental differences of opinion between Liberals and committed socialists. If you take the issue of housing, as perhaps the one that affects most people directly . . .

Liverpool is a bad example though, because the politics of the Liverpool Labour Party have been very heavily influenced by Militant. The GLC and Sheffield are a different ball-game altogether.

I remember visiting what, I thought, was one of the most exciting developments I've seen in housing just outside Bradford – and it's true it was under a Labour controlled authority – where they had taken a couple of the old tower blocks and replanned the ground floors and turned them over to tenants' control; not only tenants' control of the administration, but tenants' control of the allocation, which is a major step forward. It was precisely what I call community politics, very exciting.

But it does not seem to me to represent the mainstream of what the Labour Party is doing. In fact you can pick that out as an isolated example. If you go to Edinburgh, which is a local authority run by the Labour Party, you won't find anything like that around. And this is what I'm saying, the standard Labour approach to housing is 'well, we will go on building more houses, telling people what's good for them, providing houses whether they like them or not.' And I just find it so different from our approach, which is to create tenants' co-operatives, housing associations, share ownership schemes – a whole plethora of weapons you can use, all of which are designed to give individuals more control over their own lives, and therefore more pride and say in how their own community is run.

What do you think the Left is? Do you use the term? What do you see it to mean?

No, I don't tend to use the term because the Left is a whole range of things. If we use the abusive term, the loony Left, I regard that as the Militant tendency and various other groups and even sections of the parliamentary Labour Party, who would not identify themselves with Militant tendency, but who see politics purely in terms of their own identification with a particular section of the population. One of the things that motivates me very strongly as a Liberal and against participation in the Labour Party, even from my student days, is that I think the perpetuation of class politics has actually been an acute disadvantage to Britain in relation to the Americans, the Japanese and most of the Europeans. It's something peculiar to us, a pseudo-class war to which a great deal of the Left subscribes.

What is your attitude towards CND?

At the beginning I was quite sympathetic because then it was a campaign for nuclear disarmament. But over the years – I was never actually a member of it so I can't pinpoint when and how this happened – it went from being a broadly-based movement concerned with the issues of nuclear disarmament, to becoming much more focused on a campaign for a particular route to nuclear disarmament. That's where it went wrong.

But, although I don't agree with the actual policy of CND, I've never shared the views of some people in the Labour Party, the Tories and the Alliance, who denounce CND. Although no doubt it has within it people who would exploit CND for other purposes, I don't believe that it's got a hotline to the Kremlin. It's full of people who are concerned about what is a most serious issue. And the fact that they exist and have kept raising the issue is for the health of democratic politics. Coupled with the fact of course, that as far as the Liberal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JOIN JARROW '86 and the GMBATU Marching for Rights

WORK • WELFARE • HOUSING • HEALTH

SUNDAY NOVEMBER 2nd. RALLY TO WELCOME THE JARROW '86 MARCHERS : HYDE PARK 1.30 pm. MARCH TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE. MAJOR NATIONAL SPEAKERS.

The Jarrow '86 march starts in Jarrow on Sunday *October 5th and follows the route of the original Jarrow march to London.

For more details contact:
Jarrow '86,
The Electric Press Factory,
39 Cookridge St.,
Leeds LS1 3DW.

*NB – 'This is the CORRECT date'

BLACKROSE

We are an NGA-recognised workers' cooperative offering a sympathetic design and print service for the labour movement, the women's movement, community groups and left publications.

On our two A2 format offset litho presses we produce magazines, pamphlets, reports, books, posters and leaflets at competitive prices. We can handle your job from design, photosetting and camerawork through to all types of binding.

PRESS
Telephone (01) 251 3043
30 Clerkenwell Close, London, EC1R 0AT

MERSEYSIDE MUSEUM OF LABOUR HISTORY

The story of working class life on Merseyside. Displays on Housing, Employment, Leisure, Education and Trade Unionism.

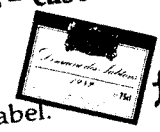
OPENING HOURS
Monday – Saturday 10.00 – 5.00
Sunday 2.00 – 5.00

Museum of Labour History Islington, Liverpool tel: 051-227 5234 ext: 2079

VINCEREMOS WINES & SPIRITS

Special offer to MT readers – cases of 12 bottles:

Marxism Today Wine £35.88
A crisp dry additive-free Loire white, AC Montlouis, with MT label.



Wines of Peace £27.05
6 red, 6 white, excellent French table wine with peace logo; each purchase sends £2 to CND.

Organic Taster Case £45.83
12 different organically produced fine wines from selected Loire and Bordeaux growers.

Nicaraguan Rum £107.40
Delicious Flor de Caña dark or gold rum, imported exclusively by Vinceremos. State dark (4 yrs old), gold (5 yrs old) or mixed case.

Catalogue with full range on request. To order, send cheque or Access card number for full amount adding £2.60 per case for delivery or £6 if you live in Scotland or Wales. Free delivery for 10 or more cases. Cheques payable to:

Vinceremos Limited, 23 Crossfield Street, Leeds LS2 9EH.
Telephone: Leeds (0532) 443998. (Access orders by 'phone 24 hrs).

Drink with a difference!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Party in particular is concerned, there has always been within it a strong strand of politics sympathetic to CND because the Liberal Party has always had within it historically a very strong Quaker, non-conformist, pacifist tradition, and into that CND quite naturally fits. I've never taken a sort of derogatory view of CND at all. I think it's perfectly legitimate both as a national campaign and as a section within the Liberal Party.

There is now a movement rather like CND developing against civil nuclear power. This is clearly going to be one of the biggest questions, not only in this country but in most industrial societies.

We in the Liberal Party have never found this a problem. We have been very sceptical about the development of nuclear power from the beginning. Certainly on military nuclear power we took the position under Jo Grimond's leadership in the mid-50s that Britain should not be a military nuclear power. We took a similarly sceptical approach about civil nuclear power.

We regard nuclear power as being the fuel of last resort. In other words we're not prepared to say 'we're anti-nuclear, we will never have nuclear power, it is an absolutely fundamental position that we don't have it?

That is not our position. But a lot more has to be done on the conservation of energy than is being done. Much now needs to be done in terms of natural sources of energy. We accept there's more oil still to be exploited and similarly much more coal. Only at the back of all that, I think, is there a case for Britain considering nuclear power, meanwhile nuclear research should continue.

So if the government were to commission a PWR after the publication of the Sizewell report, you would oppose it?

We would cancel it if we got to that stage.

The Labour Party might well do the same. Could you envisage an alliance between the Alliance and the Labour Party on this issue?

If you are putting to me the proposition that there might be an Alliance/Labour government of some kind after the next election, then I've no doubt that on that issue we would probably have no difficulty. But the difference would be that we would not be developing an energy policy which was going to leave Mr Scargill rubbing his hands with glee, and increasing his power base. How we get round that I'm not quite sure at the moment.

But I don't actually think the Tories are daft enough to give the go-ahead to Sizewell between now and the next election. Because, since Chernobyl, public opinion has changed and the perception inside the Conservative Party has changed too. This is not an issue – unlike military nuclear power – which divides people in the country very much along party lines, many perfectly respectable Conservatives are very concerned as the dumping issue shows.

Are you in favour of phasing out existing nuclear power stations?

To take the nearer issue of Torness, just up the road, which is due to come into commission right now, we would say, 'Right let's stop'. Because we have other power stations in Scotland which are moth-balled, new ones, and there's no reason why we shouldn't moth-ball a nuclear one rather than a conventional one.

And what about the existing operating nuclear power stations?

The older ones certainly ought to be being phased out. I don't see any great difference between our view and the one that the TUC has just adopted on that.

I can't imagine that David Owen is as sceptical about nuclear power as you are. Have you discussed this with him?

I think he's now much more in tune with what I've been saying on it than he was.

What do you think the British government should do in relation to South Africa?

I have always been in favour of sanctions, and not for the reasons that Margaret Thatcher goes on about it. The issue to me is not whether sanctions work or not, but whether we as a civilised country are prepared to conduct normal commercial relations with a government of this kind. I think the answer should be no. And therefore anything that we can do to make it clear that their policies are fundamentally unacceptable, such as the cessation of air links, is justified. The secondary question of whether 'they work', in the sense of bringing about the desired changes, is to me a lesser issue, and therefore we're not even arguing it on the same plane as the present government. It is very important that Western governments make clear their disassociation by being prepared to take specific steps, which may cost us a bit as well, in order to demonstrate support for the majority populations. That's been my attitude all along.

You were responsible for what became popularly known in the 60s as the Steel bill on abortion, which was one of the central legislative measures in the liberalisation period of the 60s, helping to usher in a new pattern of sexual and cultural behaviour. Looking back on it now, how do you see the Abortion Act and what do you feel about the trend towards a more liberal moral climate?

Although the Abortion Act tended to be part of that era, it would be wrong to attribute too much of that trend to it, because it also coincided with the development of the pill, the coil and all the rest of it, which had proportionately far more impact on people's lifestyles than abortion, which was a relatively small issue. But inasmuch as I tend to be lumped in with the permissive society, I certainly can't escape from that, and my own votes on that and on other issues around the time were certainly all in the same direction. I think morality is not something that a government should try and determine.

But I would like to see marriage made more difficult, if that were possible. You can't do it by law. But I think nowadays people tend to rush too casually into marriage or into what they think will be long-term relationships in which they bring up children, and which they then break off if they find the going gets rough. The number of broken homes and the

number of children who don't have a stable family background is very sad. I feel quite strongly about that. But I take a classic liberal position on this. I don't think, as someone once said, that the state has any role in the bedrooms of the nation.

Do you identify yourself with the trend towards greater women's rights. What do you think of feminism?

Yes I do, although again I find a lot irritating about the sort of *Private Eye* 'Wimmin' column – that kind of feminism is ludicrous. I even find petty things difficult, like the complete messing up of the English language and suggesting that certain words are sexist, and you've got to have spokespersons and . . .

Have you started to use that vocabulary?

No, I won't do it. I just don't. The party knows this because it operates quite strongly in the Liberal Party and they say that people are now chairs, they're no longer chairmen. I have no objection to a word such as president, which has got no sexist connotation, but why must we change the English language.

Is there another major social reform that needs to come to complete the cycle of reforms – we've had abortion, we've had the relaxation of homosexuality laws. Are there any more? Or have all those great reforms now taken place?

I think they have porobably all taken place. I don't think there is anything like that still to come. ●

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NHS Crisis

The Painful Path to Health

The guiding principles of the National Health Service are no longer workable. **Steve Iliffe** argues that we need to create a new model appropriate to the 1990s

The guiding principles of the National Health Service are no longer tenable. Successive governments of both parties have modified a medical service that was intended to be free at the time of need, comprehensive in scope and financed by the Exchequer. Socialists need to recognise these modifications, accept them, and adapt policies and practices to them. Above all, the Left needs to understand why the NHS that Bevan built can no longer stand unchanged.

First we must measure the extent of the modifications. For increasing numbers of NHS users the service is *no longer free* at the time of need. The inflation in prescription charges under Thatcher's government has created a two-tier service. On the top tier those fit enough to work must pay for prescribed medicines, unless they have one of a small number of exempt conditions like epilepsy or diabetes. On the bottom tier the poor, the elderly and children receive free medication.

Spectacles are no longer available from the NHS, even for those on the lowest incomes – they must use vouchers in the market place. Dentistry has an enlarging 'private' component, with a rising scale of fees paid by patients. Residency qualifications applied in hospitals prevent citizens who are 'not normally resident' in the UK from free access to anything other than emergency care. Even movement from one health authority to another can render a UK citizen liable to charges for at least one service – termination of pregnancy in areas where services are contracted out to charitable organisations.

The NHS is better than it was, but it is still not comprehensive. It is to the credit of its workers that in its first 30 years the health service extended specialist care across the country, but it has been unable to correct the unequal distribution of resources inherited in 1948. The introduction of planned resource reallocation in the 70s has done something to equalise services, although budget restraints have meant more equalisation downwards than equalisation up.

Nevertheless geography still matters in terms of the availability and accessibility of medical care. If you are born prematurely and need access to a ventilator in a special care baby unit, or have kidney failure needing dialysis, or have heart block correctable by pacemaker, try to be near one of the centres of excellence that can meet your need. If you have a hernia needing repair, or a hip worth replacing, choose to live in a health authority with short waiting lists.

Whilst almost every citizen will get appropriate emergency medical care when it is needed, if necessary by transfer from one part of the country to another, routine services and even some lifesaving facilities are not evenly and appropriately distributed. The ensuing burden of tolerated or neglected disease experienced disproportionately by the working class undermines official claims of comprehensive provision.

Exchequer funds supply most of the NHS' needs, *but not all*. Payments by users constitute nearly 10% of the total budget. Without sponsored parachute jumps, fetes and direct appeals to the public there would be fewer body scanners, fewer day hospitals and fewer NHS hospice units. Commercial videos played in overcrowded casualty departments augment cash-limited health authority budgets. Privately financed nursing homes siphon off the elderly infirm and some of those with long-term mental illness or handicap.

Private hospitals sell space and time in their under-used operating suites to reduce NHS waiting lists, whilst agencies subsidised by charity perform half the country's abortions. Nurses working for private agencies make good staff shortages throughout the NHS and at times can constitute the majority of staff on a ward or in a department. At different rates and to different extents in different areas the NHS is becoming part provider, part broker of medical care.

These changes – in free use, service scope and funding – have developed slowly since the re-introduction of prescription charges in 1951, gaining pace in the 70s until they became a flood under Thatcher. It is tempting to attribute them all to malevolent Tory ideology (conveniently forgetting those changes introduced by Labour governments) and imagine that all can be put right by a new kind of Labour government firmly committed to socialist policies. Nothing could be more unrealistic and inaccurate. Not only does this view overstate the power and significance of Tory class hatred (and of ideology generally) but it also ignores the complexity of the problem that this – and any successor – government must face in dealing with the NHS.

The essence of the second crisis is this: whilst medicine has extended its influence enormously over our lives, it is costing more and more to get less and less benefit

There are two interconnected crises within the health service. One is a direct consequence of the economic recession and Conservative attempts to escape from it. The second is a long-term structural crisis of medicine itself, running over decades, and common to the industrialised world.

In Britain, governments of both parties have had to address both crises simultaneously. Because the structural crises is a feature of modern medicine, not modern capitalism, government responses to it can appear similar, giving the impression of political convergence. The average observer then becomes confused. Why does one Labour government introduce prescription charges and another increase them, contrary to election promises? And why did the Tory governments of the 50s keep them roughly constant while Thatcher promoted astonishing inflation, when both proclaimed the same objective of holding down NHS costs?

One way to understand how the twin crises merge together is to look at this government's management of the NHS in detail. The Conservatives have restricted public spending on the NHS to the point where services are now contracting. This is not just a simple attempt to roll back the welfare state

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

because of its 'socialist' associations and its cost to the taxpayer, although that is one motive. It is also an attempt to exploit one of the few areas of development left open to capitalism – the provision of services. The epidemic of privately-owned homes for the elderly infirm, funded by a mixture of DHSS benefit payments and bank loans, parallels the growth of private hospitals funded by insurance companies, medical co-operatives and US-based multinationals.

The psychiatrists and psychiatric nurses baling out of the big mental illness hospitals to found profitable mini-institutions for ex-patients are literally cashing in on policies of 'care in the community'. Psychotherapists, alternative practitioners and assorted 'healers' are sweeping up the huge market for remedies, relief and reassurance that the NHS cannot satisfy. 'Health' has become a growth industry that needs an ailing public sector to thrive, and holding down NHS spending is a way of forcing the growth of private provision.

The costs of the two most expensive areas of medicine – non-urgent surgery and long-term care of the disabled – are slowly being transferred on a mass scale from the public to the private sector. Around them luxury private services – specialist medicine, allergy testing, 'natural' childbirth, psychiatry, screening clinics and the fringe therapies – are being developed for the affluent. The Conservatives are implementing the traditional socialist view that medical care can make a positive contribution to the national economy, rather than be a drain upon it, but they are doing so by promoting individualistic solutions to social problems.

If we do not appreciate the significance of Conservative strategy, the Left may be marginalised and unable to influence future developments in the health service. For the commercialisation of medical care not only offers some prospect for economic renewal; it also offers an answer (if only in the short-term) to the second, structural crisis.

The essence of the second crisis is this: whilst medicine has extended its influence enormously over our lives, it is costing more and more to get less and less benefit. We face diminishing returns on investment. As new medical techniques are applied the gains made through treatment become less than their economic, social and personal costs. Once, a simple programme of immunisation could both eradicate a lethal infectious disease and make redundant all the costly facilities, staff and skills previously used up in feeble attempts at treatment. That is no longer possible.

Now the overall per capita cost of medical care is rising, even though some medical practices (like heart surgery and renal dialysis) are cheaper now than they were a decade ago. This increase in per capita cost is occurring despite an increased throughput of hospital inpatients and outpatients, increasing deployment of specialised staff, and investment of an increasing proportion of GNP in the health service. There is little evidence, once again, that this increasing expenditure is producing comparable improvements in general health. For example, the beneficiaries of heart surgery are a small subgroup of a large population with heart disease, and the operations that prolong and improve their lives are no answer to the epidemic of ill health and premature death from coronary thrombosis.

One reason why the costs of medical care are rising faster than the general rate of inflation is because the introduction of any new technique generates new, and unplanned, activity that requires its own funding. A topical example is the waiting lists for hip replacement, which have persisted and grown despite increases in resources available for orthopaedic surgery. This expansion made no difference to the hip replacement waiting lists because the population needing such operations also grew, demand for surgery increased as the availability of the service became more widely known, and other problems competed for the time of surgeons and anaesthetists.

If ever smaller gains are now purchased at ever greater cost, why have previous governments failed to curb spending, and why does Thatcher's government in particular not intervene more aggressively? There are electoral reasons for current Conservative commitments to the NHS, but there are also reasons within the structural crisis. The development of medicine has its own dynamic, which is closely related to the partnership between professionalism and commercial interests. Professional workers in the NHS – in particular, doctors – determine costs of care by deciding on investigations and treatments for individual patients. Despite their employee status British doctors have a close relationship with the pharmaceutical industry, which is the main provider of postgraduate education, the predominant source of research funds and a major determinant of patterns of prescribing. This is the main link through which capital exerts control over medical care, shaping its direction and benefitting from its expansion. The industries which supply equipment – cardiac monitors, intensive care beds, incubators and so on – are a second route of influence. Such links are difficult for Conservatives to attack.

Commercial influence might not matter if medical science had reached its limits, but there is little sign that technological development in medicine is slowing down. Now in sight are: highly-selective drugs that can reach specific targets within the body without affecting other tissues; new developments in scanning, giving more information about internal structures and processes than existing methods, more safely; and information technologies dedicated to medicine, from simple computers capable of transmitting data from the largest regional health authority to the smallest clinic, to the possibility of 'artifical intelligence' computers that make diagnoses and delete the medical middle-person.

All of these will be extremely expensive, even when in mass production and wide-scale use. None of them may add as much as promised to medical care except in special circumstances, but the commercial, professional and user pressure to deploy them widely will be intense. All are likely to distort health service planning by their work-generating effect on medical practice, and so could harm existing services.

Even if technological development in medicine did stop, we would still face a changing pattern of disease. How will we cope with the growing epidemic of sexually transmitted diseases, of which cervical cancer in young women, and AIDS in almost anybody are the most frightening examples. We can identify the faults in the existing system of early detection of cervical cancer, and correct them – at a price. We cannot yet predict the effects of the AIDS virus or the extent of its spread, but we know that a few hundred seriously ill sufferers can overload a health authority that seeks to provide them with care that is all too basic. No AIDS vaccine is yet in sight and we cannot be sure that one can ever be developed, however much research money is spent. Now we can see the Conservatives' dilemma. New health risks are appearing, as if we did not have enough already. The existing services grow with a mind of their own as capital encourages professional enthusiasm, and then the (public) money begins to run out. The benefits of medicine, in economic terms, do not add up to much. Since they cannot attack capital easily, the Conservatives have to rely on market mechanisms to regulate medical expenditure. Operations will be done, people will feel well or ill, according to the profitability of this treatment or that. Commercialisation of medicine is a logical step.

The stock socialist response is to urge expansion of the NHS to accommodate the new developments. This will not work. According to the Stockholm Institute of Futures Studies, if the growth rate of the care and welfare sector of Swedish society during the 70s were to continue until the turn of the century, running costs would quadruple, the number of staff employed would double but the scope of activities would expand by only 50% If this is true for an affluent and model social democracy, is it not also true for a poorer society desperately needing more investment in housing, education and industry? We must accept that our model of medical care is no longer appropriate, and must change.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new left *review*

'...the most interesting and the most read.'
(TLS, 16/12/83)

NOW AVAILABLE **Issue No 158**

Riccardo Parboni
The Currency of Hegemony

Raymond Williams
The Road from Vitebsk

Benedict Anderson
James Fenton's Sideshow

Eleni Stamiris
The Greek Women's Movement

Frieder Wolf
Eco-socialist Transition

Terry Eagleton
In Defence of Political Verse

Scargill/Benn/Heffer/Rustin on British Politics

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION (SIX ISSUES): £11 or $22
Single copies: £2.50 from bookshops or from NLR, 15 Greek St., London W1E 6QZ.

LASSO

d e s i g n
t y p e s e t t i n g
a r t w o r k
p r i n t i n g

LASSO Women's Co-operative (TU)
86-100 St Pancras Way, London NW1
☎ 267 1284
for a quote, information or advice.

People WILL GO to Any LENGTHS when they need a new banner.....

CHIPPENHAM DESIGNS T.U.
the leading Trades' Union banner firm

37-40 The Green
PLUMSTEAD
Norwich NR11 7LJ
tel 026377 595

send for illustrated brochure

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The consequences of this package of policies are unlikely to cheer those whose socialism depends on the all-giving state or even the notion of a 'caring society'

The Conservative reaction to the twin crises within British medicine gives us clues about a more effective and more acceptable model. I want to suggest some principles for developing the NHS during a long transitional period in which left-of-centre governments dominate.

☛Priority in health spending should be given to social services, not the NHS. It is realistic to aim to spend 8% of GNP on health care – the EEC average – but it would be uneconomic and unjust to spend it all on extra medical services. Significant improvements in the quality of life of substantial groups of the population – the elderly infirm, the mentally handicapped, the disabled and the mentally ill – depend on more extensive and better quality support services with maximum involvement of the service users and neighbourhood networks. The provision of childcare facilities will have more impact on the mental and physical health of parents – particularly women – than any quantity of tranquillisers or any number of psychologists, particularly if the users are involved in the provision of this care.

☛Within the NHS budget the first claim on extra resources should go to the lowest paid workers, to increase their spending power, their morale and commitment to the service, and to ease recruitment problems. Second claim should go to the development of community-based services with the emphasis on preventive care, for example the prevention of heart disease and strokes should be a high priority. Renewal of buildings must be a lower priority, as now, with the only consolation being the availability of private hospitals suitable for acquisition.

☛Overall staffing levels should be kept constant, particularly amongst doctors. There is little good evidence that we are under-doctored, and plenty to suggest that the NHS is unable to utilise its medical staff efficiently. The division of the service into parallel structures, the health authorities with their hospitals and clinics and the family practitioner committees with their GPs, dentists, opticians and pharmacists, is fossilised history and needs breaking, even if this means loss of professional jobs. If nurse practitioners can do the same work as general practitioners at one quarter the training cost and half the running costs, then a programme of professional replacement is necessary. And if new technology permits 'bedside diagnosis' we should end the present reliance on large centralised hospital laboratories.

☛Budget restraints on health authorities should be maintained, and appropriate alternative sources of local finance encouraged. There is no reason why local industries should not buy packages of industrial health care from the NHS, under encouragement from trade unions. The NHS can sell its laundry services to other buyers – perhaps local authorities, perhaps privately-owned nursing homes – and given some revolutionary changes in the kitchens, even become the centre of a commercial catering chain. Why should the NHS itself not develop new technologies as applied to medicine, given the investment capital? Such sources of new funds are appropriate because they permit greater local political involvement in service development and use a public industry – the NHS – as a springboard for local economic renewal. Flagdays and collecting tins do exactly the opposite.

☛Concentration of all pharmaceutical production into one public industry will be necessary. This will permit the Department of Health to divert a proportion of profits into NHS services, to rationalise research, and to use the industry's links with NHS professionals to promote government priorities in medical care. Inevitably the health service would need fewer drugs than presently on offer, and the industry would contract during the public takeover.

☛Principled objections to charges for services should be over-ruled. The costs of some services can be passed on to the user, at least in part, and our problem should only be in deciding on which services attract a charge, and which are free. Present prescription charges are an unjust tax on the employed ill, fail to reduce medication use significantly and raise sums which could be obtained through rationalised prescribing. They should be abolished. Part of the cost of salvage work following injury in car accidents can be claimed from motoring insurance, and in a situation where public transport is being promoted (on environmental, economic and health grounds), such claims could be increased. If an increasing number of young adults injure themselves through sports, should the NHS divert resources to assist them, or should they be asked to contribute to the costs of sports injury clinics through 'sports insurance'? Who should pay for *in vitro* fertilisation?

☛A new management culture needs to develop, not on commercial lines as at present, but on a democratic basis emphasising widespread participation in day-to-day running of the service. The wider the involvement, the wider the understanding that not all needs can be met immediately, and that not all wants are justified. Old concepts need decanting into new structures that make a reality of public ownership by extending the responsibilities of ownership to an ever widening population.

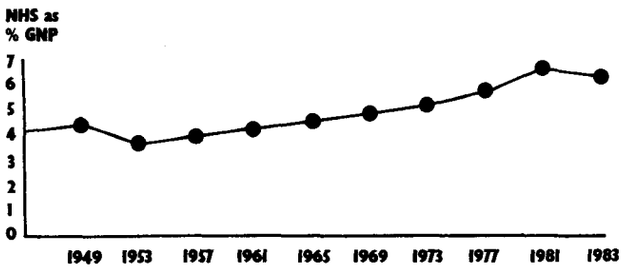
☛Central government must ensure that services meet people's needs, by legislation to introduce 'patients' rights' (ie, statutory obligations on health authorities) and by strengthening the Department of Health so that it can enforce strategic direction upon elected health authorities. The new manage-

The Rising Cost of Health

The NHS faces a dual crisis. The first, provoked by the economic recession and the Tory government's response to it, is obvious. The second is less familiar. It is a product of the fact that investment in medical care is producing decreasing returns in terms of health. Medicine is becoming steadily less cost-effective.

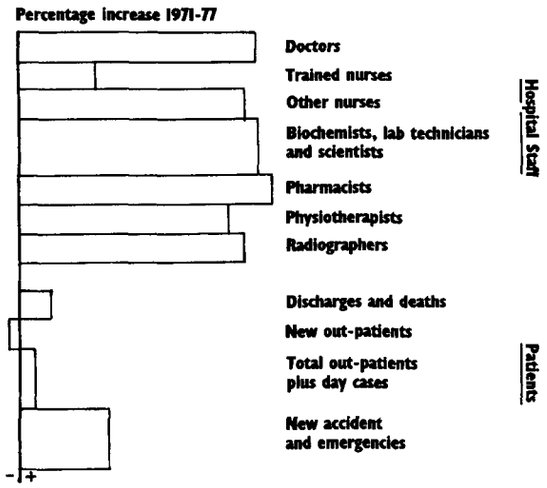
This is illustrated by the chart. This shows an increase in staffing in the NHS between 1971 and 1977. However, apart from a substantial increase in attendance in casualty departments, there is no comparable rise in the numbers of people treated by this expanding health service.

Cost of the NHS as % of GNP



Rising costs and declining returns

Percentage increase 1971-77



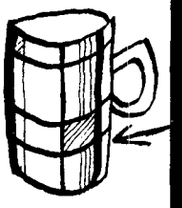
Another illustration of the rising cost of medicine is the proportion of GNP claimed by the NHS. Although other factors are obviously also in play here, notably political and social pressures, in the graph the line shows that the cost of the NHS as a proportion of GNP has risen from 4% in 1949 to well over 6% in 1983.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Make a mug of REAgan!

MT

EXCLUSIVE XMAS OFFER!



Red Blue & Black

Marxism Today

Mug based on new MT poster!

In association with the NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN – a gift pack, including new MT mugs, a Sandino Mug plus a pack of high quality Nicaraguan ground coffee!

Red & Black

Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign

DON'T FORGET our Spanish Civil War T-Shirts based on a poster design by the artist Joan Miro. Full colour reproduction.

DON'T DELAY – order now! Fill in the form with the name and address of the person to whom the goods should be sent, and post no stamp needed) to: Marxism Today, Freepost, 16 St John St, London EC1B 1JB.

Description	Price	Size/ Colour	Qty.	Total
Mugs and coffee Xmas-offer	£6.25			
Miro T-shirts (sizes L/XL) (size XXXL)	£5.50 £6.50)			
Karl and Groucho T-shirts (sizes S/M/L)	£3.50			
New logo orange Despatch bags (19"x14")	£4			
MT sweatshirts: grey with maroon logo black with pink logo (sizes M/L)	£6.99			
Groucho and Karl badges (min order 4)	25p			

GOODS TOTAL _____

POSTAGE & PACKING: Add on 15% of Goods Total _____

GRAND TOTAL _____

Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____ **Postcode** _____

Access/Visa: ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Signature _____

NEW BOOKS

OPEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

JUSTICE for WOMEN?

Family, Court and Social Control

Mary Eaton

Deals with the treatment of women defendants in magistrates' courts and the wider issue of the subordination of women.

Oct. '86 0 335 15350 X c.£5.95 pb
0 335 15351 8 c.£16.00 hb

THREATENING YOUTH

Towards a national youth policy

Bernard Davies

Argues that youth policies, previously characterised by local control and voluntaryism, are now being overtaken by the development of a coherent and centrally controlled youth policy.

Sept. '86 0 335 15391 7 £6.95 pb
0 335 15392 5 £20.00 hb

ALL WORK & NO PLAY?

The Sociology of Women and Leisure

Rosemary Deem

A well-researched and wide-ranging analysis of women's leisure in Britain enlivened by women's own accounts of their leisure and work.

Sept. '86 0 335 15354 2 £6.95 pb
0 335 15355 0 £20.00 hb

THE SCIENCE QUESTION IN FEMINISM

Sandra Harding

Is science sexist? In this book Sandra Harding surveys and develops the feminist contribution to the philosophy of science.

Oct. '86 0 335 15359 3 c.£7.95 pb
0 335 15360 7 c.£22.50 hb
This edition not for sale in the USA, Canada and the Philippines.

WOMEN IN BRITAIN TODAY

Family · Employment · Education · Health

Veronica Beechey and Elizabeth Whitelegg

Key issues are examined in order to challenge existing stereotypes of women's roles.

May '86 0 335 15137 X £6.95 pb
0 335 15138 8 £20.00 hb

FEMINIST SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Developing Theory and Practice

Sue Wilkinson

A collection of essays exploring the contribution of feminist research to social psychology.

May '86 0 335 15330 5 £7.95 pb
0 335 15329 1 £20.00 hb

POPULAR CULTURE & SOCIAL RELATIONS

Tony Bennett, Colin Mercer, Janet Woollacott

A lively analysis of the role of popular culture in the past and today, plus a look at the society which produces & consumes it.

June '86 0 335 15107 8 £7.95 pb
0 335 15108 6 £22.50 hb

OPEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

12 COFFERIDGE CLOSE, STONY STRATFORD, MILTON KEYNES, MK11 1BY, ENGLAND
TEL: MILTON KEYNES (0908) 566744 TELEX: 826147

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment culture will be needed to extend this directive approach down to the working units of the NHS, to ensure that extra resources are used effectively.

☛The primary objective of the NHS should be the progressive reduction in class inqualities in health (and in access to appropriate medical care). The targets will be preventable disabilities and premature death, with the emphasis on the extra burden carried by the working class. These objectives will not be achieved if people do not understand them, and the methods needed to reach them, and that will require a process of involvement and education beyond any currently practiced.

The consequences of this package of policies are unlikely to cheer those whose socialism depends on the all-giving state or even the notion of a 'caring society'. We should anticipate:

☛Further reductions in the numbers of hospitals and hospital beds of all kinds, with an increasing workload being undertaken in daycare units and in people's homes.

☛An incomes policy within the NHS that restrains higher professional salaries and narrows income differentials, thus encouraging even more 'moonlighting' into the private sector.

☛Persistent rationing of services, with a strengthened barrier (in the form of community-based services) between the population and specialist care, and continued waiting time between identification of a problem and its resolution.

If this happens, we will be in debt to the Conservatives for the instability they once inflicted on the biggest institution in Europe outside the Red Army, and also on the traditions of the British Left

☛Transformation of professional roles, with people having more limited access to doctors but much more access to non-medical staff – nurses, counsellors, social workers and psychologists – working in the front line.

☛Continued growth of private medicine in many forms, with limited scope for restraint by government action. Realistically, a left government could hope only to isolate and undermine commercial medicine, particularly where US multinational and local finance capital are involved, but not diminish small-scale private practice amongst either orthodox or alternative practitioners.

☛Long delays in the introduction of new techniques whilst they are tested for value, and whilst other priorities are being dealt with. Constant assault on the quality of the NHS by those wanting faster innovation – commercial interests, some professionals, users expecting 'magic bullets' – will make medical care into a highly politicised issue.

This scenario offers us a public health service that will become less demand-led and more provider-led as spending programmes unfold, whilst expansion remains limited. Private provision will continue and probably expand, if only because old attitudes amongst users clash with new forms of organisation, to the benefit of professionals underpaid or even unemployed through government policy.

The most important growth area will be in the resources and powers of local government, and there will be increasing scope for class politics to influence the character of the local services that affect the health of local people. New opportunities will appear for the Left as health service management is opened up to democratic control, and local economies could be transformed as the NHS – already the major employer in many areas – comes to dominate provision of technical services to small-scale, privately owned business.

This is a very long way from Bevan's dream and some distance from the compromise he cobbled together in 1948, but it will be a turning point in the development of public medical care. Not all medical services will be free at time of need, but those that are will be dealing with the serious problems of a society in transition, and they will work well. Critics will be able to point out that the NHS is not comprehensive in scope, but socialists will be able to reply that it neither could be nor should be. And money will come from different directions in different places, ending the pretence of a tidy monolithic institution. If this happens, we will be in debt to the Conservatives for the instability they once inflicted on the biggest institution in Europe outside the Red Army, and also on the traditions of the British Left. ●

HELP US GET THE FUR TRADE OFF THE NATION'S BACK.

COME TO TRAFALGAR SQUARE ON 25 OCTOBER AT 2.30 FOR THE LYNX MASS RALLY AGAINST THE FUR TRADE

LYNX

PLEASE SEND ME DETAILS OF HOW I CAN HELP KILL THE FUR TRADE

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

LYNX, PO BOX 509, DUNMOW, ESSEX CM6 1UH.

ANIMALS IN MEDICAL RESEARCH

THE FACTS

- Introduction of blood transfusion delayed over 200 years by the misleading results of animal experiments.
- Introduction of corneal transplants delayed nearly 90 years by misleading results of animal experiments.
- Florey, who purified penicillin, said it was a "lucky chance" that he had not tested it on guinea-pigs, for it kills them.
- Drugs like Opren, Eraldin, and Flosint were passed safe in animal tests; but damaged many humans, and killed others.
- The heart drug digitalis was discovered without animal research. It was later found to cause dangerously high blood pressure in dogs. But not in man.

In the past, animal experimentation has often retarded the control and eradication of serious diseases. Must we tolerate further delay?

FIGHT AGAINST VIVISECTION

...ANIMALS CAN'T

For Further information please write to:
The National Anti-Vivisection Society Ltd
51 Harley Street, London W1

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photo: Val Wilmar/Format

Deliverance

Frankie Rickford talks to **Dr Wendy Savage** about the medical profession's changing role in childbirth.

What role do you think an obstetrician should have in relation to a woman who's having a baby?

Obstetricians are trained to look after abnormal labour and abnormal pregnancy. Gordon Stirrat put it very nicely at the enquiry. He said that he saw his function as that of a risk assessor. However, I feel that we should completely change the way that our care is organised so that when a woman is referred by her GP her first port of call is the midwife rather than the hospital obstetrician. This system has been tried in Holland and it works extremely well. The midwife would consult the obstetrician if there was a real need, eg, if the woman developed an abnormal pregnancy. The advantage of this system is that midwives are doing the work which they've been trained to do and obstetricians would not be too overloaded, so they could then spend more time with women patients and more time assessing the way that they practise.

You think obstetricians should spend more time thinking about what they *should* be doing?

Obstetrics and gynaecology is one of the busiest specialities. I always used to wonder why it was that obstetricians seemed to have so much work and I now think it's partly because within the medical power structure these specialities aren't seen as prestigious. People joke about the medical hierarchy but there is some truth in it: the nearer you get to the brain the more prestigious it is – so neurologists and neurosurgeons are considered very intellectual and powerful people whereas venereologists at the bottom end of the patient, as it were, are not considered so important.

Neurologists, for example, have smaller numbers of patients who often have complicated illnesses which take a long time to diagnose. So their work pattern is quite different to that of the obstetrician.

Why are the rates for interventions and especially caesarian births rising in this country?

That's quite a complicated question. We don't really know exactly why. In the United States it is quite clearly related to the legal situation. But on both sides of the Atlantic I think it's related to the fact that obstetricians are not trained to look after normal labour and that over the last 20 years there have been changes in obstetric practice which have altered the relationship between midwives and doctors.

Midwives have lost their power and doctors have taken over more of the labouring women, thereby changing the way that labour is managed. The introduction of technology has actually increased the levels of unconscious anxiety in both doctors and midwives. And doctors often react to this by, for example, delivering the baby with forceps or doing a caesarian section, or inducing labour.

If you look at the things which have been introduced like foetal monitoring, placental function tests and ultrasound, really they should have made us feel more secure that we can let pregnancy continue. But government statistics show that approximately 20% of births are induced in this country, or their labour is started off artificially, the highest point being almost 40% in 1974. Moreover, 20% may be an underestimation because when women are induced with this relatively new drug prostaglandin – not artificial rupture of the membrane that may be missed in the figures.

In the period when the induction rate was really high – 40% overall, which means that in hospitals, especially in teaching hospitals with their concentration of high risk cases, the induction rate might have been as high as 75% – the doctor in training didn't see normal labour. He saw abnormal labour. I believe there's almost been a loss of understanding amongst those trained in that era about what normal labour is. There are only a few older obstetricians who know what it really can be like.

Under what circumstances do you believe a caesarian section is necessary?

In the United States now almost one woman in four is being delivered by caesarian section. That can't be right. If you add up all the reasons why people need a caesarian section it's somewhere between 6.5 and 8.5% depending on whether you believe in delivering breeches vaginally or not.

In some cases it's absolutely clear cut: if you've got a prolapsed cord – when the cord from the baby comes down and the woman's not fully dilated, if you don't do a caesarian section the baby will die – there's no two ways about it and it's perfectly simple to put that to a woman. It's when doctors say 'this labour has gone on for too long' that I would question the necessity of intervention. But if that doctor has had a training which taught him or her that any labour longer than 12 hours is abnormal, then that will lead to a rise in caesarian sections without necessarily any improvement in things for the mother or the baby.

Breech presentation is another less clear cut example where intervention is appropriate inasmuch as when the

Photo: Jenny Matthews/Format

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

woman gets to term and the baby is presented by the breech, some obstetricians think she should have an elective caesarian section and others believe that if the pelvis is a reasonable size then she should be allowed to deliver, or try and deliver, vaginally. Since that is quite a major reason for the rise in the caesarian section rate, I think the woman should know what the consultant's policy is.

In reality you can have read all the layperson's pregnancy books there are to read, and be as well informed as you possibly can be, but when you are in labour, if somebody says it's time for you to have a caesarian, it's not really a question of your choice.
Absolutely. I'm not trying to say that we shouldn't trust obstetricians. What's happened in the States is that there's been a breakdown of trust between women and their obstetricians and this has led in part to a higher rate of litigation. In turn this leads the obstetricians to do more caesarian sections; so it's a vicious circle. I certainly don't want that to happen here. That's why the discussion of the whole area of how obstetric care is provided and what women's choices are, which has been opened up by my suspension, will, I hope, lead to obstetricians, women and midwives getting together to produce a better system.

In some hospitals in the US, there's a list of options you can have: natural childbirth (which means you don't get so much as an aspirin), or an epidural and forceps package, or birth in a dark room with the baby put into water. Nobody thinks there's anything funny about women choosing.

How do you think all these issues are affected by the power structure in the NHS and the nature of the profession?
Today we're seeing a change in the attitude of society to the professions: after 100 years or so of medicine in its present form maybe we need to look again at the institutions. The law seems completely out of touch with what needs to be done. If there is a legal problem people want a quick solution, but the way the law works makes this impossible. Cases drag on for years, which is demoralising and expensive.

To me a professional is someone who's gone through a course of training which equips them to do their job well. They must keep up with changes so that they can give up-to-date advice and be ethical in their dealings with clients. The client respects the professional because of their superskill which is secretive to an extent. That's why there are all these languages – doctors and lawyers have their language so they can talk amongst themselves. However, in present-day society it isn't acceptable because people don't want so much formality, they don't want to have somebody telling them what is best. They want to participate in the decision.

In the NHS, you can't easily seek alternative advice. It's acceptable in the private sector, but in the state system most people think the doctor knows best. And most of the time doctors do know best and everything goes all right. But the increasing rates of litigation are partly because people now expect more.

Surely it's the whole attitude of doctors to patients that needs changing?
Polls have shown that doctors always come out tops – whereas journalists are quite low down – and that the vast majority of people are satisfied with their doctors. However, the minority that isn't is growing, and within this minority there's a disproportionate number of women, and that's largely because the profession is still dominated by men.

Are you happy with your role as a crusader?
It was Mr Kennedy who described me as a crusader at the enquiry. I've always wanted to change things, make them better. So from that point of view I suppose I am happy with it. But I'm not totally happy with the way the media have represented me. Doctors are reluctant to talk to the press because so often they feel misrepresented. On the other hand we've got to move with the times and this is a media age so I recognise that we need to use the media to get our message across.

How do you explain the way that your campaign exploded and the breadth of support you got?
I think it was because the way the case was presented touched a responsive chord. Although childbirth is safer than ever before, although a woman has got a better chance than ever before of going home with a live and healthy baby, although we can save more little tiny babies than ever before, a lot of women don't feel fulfilled by the experience of having a baby. And a lot of their partners have been unhappy about it too.

Why is childbirth so important to people? It's something that few women experience more than about five or six times in their life, and a lot of women only experience it once or twice, if at all, for one day . . .
The creation of a new human being is an amazing act isn't it? Have you ever been there when a baby is born?

I've had one
Well, wasn't it fantastic?

Yes
There's also the whole question of what a child means to a couple. And children are invested with all sorts of hopes for the future.

I understand that. What I can't quite understand is why the process of childbirth represents so much.
It doesn't to all people. Some regard it as something to be got over as soon as possible. But it has probably become more important as childbirth has become safer and women have been able to look at pregnancy and childbirth as a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Deadly Parallels

Film and the Left in Britain, 1929-39 **Bert Hogenkamp**

This fascinating book casts new light on an important area of cultural politics – film in the 1930s was the most powerful and popular medium. Whether used for entertainment, education or propaganda. From the early Soviet cinema and the workers' film societies of the late 1920s. **Deadly Parallels** traces the role of the Workers' Theatre Movement, Kino and other progressive organisations until the outbreak of the Second World War.

£6.95 paperback illustrated

NEW BOOK RELEASES

Marx and Engels Collected Works

Volume 15: 1856-1858

This volume covers a period of reaction in Europe and colonialist expansion in the East. As well as Marx's **Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century**, his articles on the unsuccessful 1856 uprising in Spain, and on the Opium Wars in China, it also includes Marx's and Engels's many articles on the First Indian War of Independence, all first published in English in the **New York Daily Tribune.**

£15 hardback maps and illustrations

Volume 21: 1867-1870

This volume primarily includes material relating to the International Working Men's Association during the crucial period of its ideological and organisational consolidation. It also contains Engels's biographical article **Karl Marx** and the plan of the second chapter of his **History of Ireland**, as well as eight articles by Jenny Marx on the Irish question.

£15 hardback maps and illustrations

Fire Under the Carpet

Working for Civil Liberties in the Thirties **Sylvia Scaffardi**

Sylvia Scaffardi's companion Ronald Kidd was the founder and first general secretary of the Council for Civil Liberties, later to become the NCCL, and they worked for the new body from its earliest days in their garret flat in Soho. Her memoirs provide a first-hand account of observing the policing of the Hunger Marches and anti-fascist meetings and demonstrations including the Battle of Cable Street, and offer a unique insight into one of the most influential pressure groups in Britain.

£4.95 paperback

Lawrence & Wishart
39 Museum Street, London WC1A 1LQ

★ ROSA ★ REFORMISM ★ MARXISM ★ ★

★ ISRAEL ★ ROSA LUXEMBURG

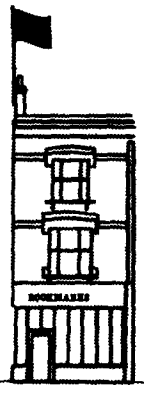
Autumn titles

ISRAEL: THE HIJACK STATE
by John Rose
Examines the political undercurrents beneath the bloodshed and injustice that have marked the history of Israel, taking as its starting-point Israel's self-chosen role as 'America's watchdog'. 80 pages.
£1.95

THE MASS STRIKE
by Rosa Luxemburg
The path-breaking book by the Polish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg in which she examines the role of the mass strike in bringing the Russian revolution of 1905. A socialist classic.
£1.95

BAILING OUT THE SYSTEM
Reformist socialism in Western Europe 1944-1985
by Ian Birchall
A meticulously researched book that examines the role of social-democratic parties throughout Europe — including the British Labour Party — in defusing working-class struggle and preserving the capitalist system. 272 pages.
£5.95

HOW MARXISM WORKS
by Chris Harman
An introduction to Marxism, written in straightforward, everyday language — proving false the myth that Marxism is 'difficult' and showing it to be a set of ideas that explains the world we live in as no other set of ideas can. 96 pages.
£1.95



All available from bookshops or by post from Bookmarks (add 15 per cent to cover postage)

Bookmarks
265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2DE.

★ **Bookmarks** is a socialist bookshop in North London, just round the corner from Finsbury Park tube station. We also run a large socialist mail order service. Just drop a line for our latest booklists.

FREE BOOK OFFER WHEN YOU JOIN WITH THIS COUPON

LETTERBOX LIBRARY

Where can YOU find the best NON-SEXIST BOOKS for CHILDREN?

LETTERBOX LIBRARY is the only book club to specialise in non-sexist and multi-cultural books for children and young adults. We offer good discounts on hard cover books, free quarterly catalogues and newsletter, all for a one-off membership fee of £2.50.

JOIN NOW to claim a free book when you buy your first book from us. (Offer closes 31 Dec 1986).

☐ I enclose my £2.50 one-off membership to Letterbox Library. Please send free catalogue and newsletter + details of how to claim my free book.
☐ I would like to know more about Letterbox Library.

Name.....
Address.....
.....
.....

Send to: Letterbox Library, FREEPOST, 5 Bradbury Street, London N16 8BR. (No stamp required) or Tel: 01-254 1640.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

creative experience rather than as something that had to be endured. What impresses me is that some people who've never read a book about childbirth are so articulate about what it means and how important it is and why they want to have a child on their terms. I'm amazed that women who are less than 20 with only secondary modern education (which in few places is excellent) understand all these things about what's important in life in a way that others who've spent years going through tertiary education, seem to miss out on.

So it's not a minority of middle class graduates who are interested in how they have their babies?

No. I did a survey about sex and pregnancy in which I interviewed 200 women after they'd had babies, and about half of them had had a baby before, and many of them said to me spontaneously how much they'd enjoyed their pregnancy and delivery at the London Hospital and how different it had been from their earlier experiences because they felt they were in control. We have a much less interventionist system at the London Hospital than at many others. That's another thing that the press haven't got right.

Has the health service suffered as a result of dwindling resources?

The argument that the government is using now is that the demand for health care is infinite. That may well be true – if you gave everybody gold-plated hips – but the fact that demand could be infinite doesn't mean that the present proportion of our GNP that's spent on health is adequate. We are now nearly the lowest spender on health care in Europe.

I don't think the NHS has got enough money, although obstetrics and gynaecology haven't been more starved than other areas of medicine. These fields were late in catching on to technological changes and a lot of the facilities we have to work with are poor.

Is there a noticeable growth in private maternity care?

There are independent midwives working in London, and they have often left the NHS because they were dissatisfied with their role within it. Obviously this brings up the fundamental question about whether you should be able to buy the health care of your choice. I feel that it's not up to me to tell people how they should spend their money. I also feel that if there was no standard against which the NHS could compare itself, we might well find that our planners, pushed by their masters, our parliament, using our money, would argue that we don't need this and we don't need that. You see the fact that someone can have a whole body scan privately, when it isn't available on the NHS, means that those in the NHS can argue that it's necessary. I think we should be arguing that things are necessary on the basis of good scientific evidence, not on the basis of comparison with the private sector. But the reality of the situation is that the people who are deciding on our services are more likely to be influenced by the fact that they are available in the private sector.

The nearer you get to the brain the more prestigious it is – so neurologists and neurosurgeons are considered very intellectual

But you don't treat patients privately?

The reason I don't is because I don't feel myself that I have the time to treat my NHS patients, teach the medical students, do some research *and* see private patients. That's my own personal decision. I don't actually object to someone else seeing private patients in the time that they are not contracted to the NHS.

What do you think the medical profession will learn from your case?

Somehow as a society we need to really look at the whole way that our institutions have become fossilised. We've had various phases in the last 100 years and we've got to a point where the whole system needs an overhaul. My case is just an example of that in medicine, but there are other instances like the way that social security benefits are handed out. The government decided that it did need an overhaul, but the way they approached it hasn't been new. It's just been the old, punitive way, rather than looking to the future. We need an absolute rethink when we've got a society with 3½m unemployed, dirty streets, people in hospitals not getting adequate care because we can't afford to employ trained midwives and nurses. So we need to look not just at medicine but at how we organise our society. ●

AA ENTERPRISES

AA Enterprises is a new workers' co-operative set up to support the Anti-Apartheid Movement by marketing and selling anti-apartheid goods. AA Enterprises is also promoting products from the front line states.

NUTS TO BOTHA!
AA Enterprises
PO Box 750, London NW1 9EW
Tel: 01-482 3883
Trading against apartheid — support the front line states
AA Enterprises is the trading name of Futures Co-operative Ltd
WHOLE CASHEW NUTS FROM MOZAMBIQUE

BOYCOTT T-SHIRT
Popular T-shirt from Tyneside Anti-Apartheid. Design in 5 bright colours. £6. Now in L & XL.

FREE SOUTH AFRICA T-SHIRT
New T-shirt from Nottingham Anti-Apartheid. Design in ANC colours (black, green & gold). £5. Available in M, L, XL.

CASHEW NUTS FROM MOZAMBIQUE
Direct from the front line. Whole toasted cashew nuts in 100 gram bags. £1.

AA Enterprises is now able to offer a wide range of goods and gifts through mail-order: T-shirts and mugs from Anti-Apartheid local groups, badges and T-shirts from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, greetings cards, calendars and silver jewellery from the ANC, T-shirts from SWAPO, plus batiks and cards from the front line states. Send large (C5 size) SAE for winter catalogue.

ORDER FORM
Please fill in in BLOCK CAPITALS

	size	no.
Boycott T-shirt (L, XL) @ £6	☐	☐
ANC T-shirt (M, L, XL) @ £5	☐	☐
Bag of cashew nuts @ £1		☐

Postage (40p per T-shirt, 20p per bag of cashew nuts)

Total £

Send order form and remittance to AA Enterprises, PO Box 750, London NW1 9EW. Please make cheques payable to AA Enterprises (and allow 28 days for delivery).

Name

Address

Postcode

AA Enterprises is the trading name of Futures Co-operative Ltd

TRADING AGAINST APARTHEID

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Retreat in the Style Wars

No matter how designers, fashion journalists and stores busy themselves about promoting each successive season as a sensational change of direction, fashion really doesn't alter overnight. Its process is slower and more subtle than that.

In recent history, it's taken roughly seven or eight years for a certain mood to take hold and play itself out before giving way to another, opposed or radically different vision. As it happens, 1986 is a watershed year, one of those times at which it becomes apparent to the interested eye that something new really has swum up over the horizon, and that something else is sinking inexorably beneath it.

Fashion is a harbinger, and it shocks. It is powerfully provocative and often infuriatingly symbolic. In this season of change, it's the Left's turn to be baited, for the outward manifestations of fashion have taken a swing back to the snobby, conservative, traditionalist values of the establishment. On the way out are the hopes and the anarchic style of the young independent British designers who made so many column inches and whacky photospreads in the early 80s.

BodyMap, John Galliano, and PX, leading lights of the bare-your-bum and wear-your-trousers-upside-down school of design, went bankrupt this year. Many others too. BodyMap and PX have been bought up by established firms and Galliano has been put to work in the fashion stable of Peter Bertelson, a billionaire Danish oilman. They'll all still be designing, but nothing's going to be the same again. They were caught on the dying fall of the wave of optimistic rebellion that began with the energetic nihilism of punk 10 years ago. It took till 1979 for young London design to grow out of the self-confidence of the music; now the tide has turned. It's all over, and only the cautious, the conservative and the commercial have survived.

At this moment the shops are stocking themselves for autumn with sober suits and old-fashioned overcoats, for men and women, in pinstripes, herringbone tweeds and Prince of Wales checks. The cut might almost have come out of the 1950s – and the image that goes with it certainly does. He looks like 'something in the City' and she might be the 'perfect secretary', prim, hygenic and marriageable. Their hair is neat, their shoes are polished, their jaws are set. And the look in their eyes would scare an old hippy half to death.

The new, hard-edged and highly formal fashion will be worn by a generation which was brought up only to know the feel of casual clothes. It is the ultimate rejection of the parental idea that some kind of essential freedom resides in the 'right' to wear jeans and t-shirt at all times. It is a look to do with wanting to appear tough, businesslike, successful and grown up – the things the hippy concealed at all costs. It values money, quality, luxury and safety. As *Vogue* puts it in its September issue, conservative chic gives 'a new establishment class values and security.'

For most people, of course, it's whistling in the dark. The clothes are relatively simple and familiar, but that doesn't mean they're easily copied, for the whole point is that they should be made of expensive materials. *Vogue* again: 'these classic clothes depend on the luxury of touch, on the fabric being real – cashmere, sea-island cotton, hide, finest worsted, silk faille. . .'. Their highly tailored shape apes the fashions of the time when clothes were hand made and fitted precisely to the bodies of the leisured rich.

The fundamental snag is that a cheap, mass produced

Photos: Frank Martin

Conservative chic: Katherine Hamnett's twinset and pearls

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suit or an acrylic twin-set cannot pretend. Whereas in 1983 you could sew your own black rags together and pass them off as having been made by a top line Japanese designer, now only the real thing counts, and if you're poor, you shall be forced to look poor.

The style aims to confer superior economic status on the wearer – to prove how very, very secure you are – either employed or eminently employable. It rejects youth, because being young and inexperienced is such a terrible disadvantage these days. It is the polar opposite of the do-it-yourself bin-bag and safety pin creativity that took root 10 years ago. The new look may appear unpleasantly aggressive in its snobbery, but it's also indicative of a neurotic need to look as if you're in control. Perhaps the saddest thing is that it's really full of fear. In drawing obsessively on the past, it cannot begin to imagine the future. So who's scaring whom?●

Sarah Mower

Jasper Conran's opera coat

Credibility and Mystery

Photo: Jean Mohr

Today the discredit of words is very great. Most of the time the media transmit lies. In face of an intolerable world, words appear to be able to change very little. State power has become congenitally deaf, which is why – but the editorialists forget it – terrorists are reduced to bombs and hijacking.

The power of reason to overthrow tyranny was, in fact, an illusion. Likewise, to believe that the pen is mightier than the sword is today a sign of relative privilege. Words are systematically used to confuse.

Yet it is to words that we confess our confusion and our impotence, our anger and our visions. With words we still name our losses and our endurance because we have no other recourse, and because people are incurably open to words and slowly they form our judgement. This judgement, which those with power habitually fear, is formed slowly like a riverbed, by currents of words. But words only make such currents when they are profoundly credible.

I once had a dream. In the dreamt country a decree had been passed which was binding and which everybody accepted: according to this decree every word, either spoken or thought, had to be cashed for what it signified. It was as if the language and its economy had returned to the gold-standard, so that every coin or bill was exchangeable for its equivalent in gold. If you thought *tree* in that country, the tree had to appear and be there. In thinking *tree*, tree became present. In thinking *morning*, morning was. It was not, as in the first chapter of Genesis, a process of naming and so simultaneously creating; it was a question of speaking with *what* words meant. The words, according to the new decree, could not be left free-standing: they were porters of what they signified. All this applied not only to nouns but also to verbs, adverbs, etc. When you thought *dig*, the act of digging was enacted. If you added the adverb *sadly*, sadness came and was as unmistakeable as salt on the lips.

For a long time in the dreamt country everybody respected the decree. As a result there was great clarity. There was also a certain cumbersomeness because space was becoming too restricted to place everything thought and said within it. There was no confusion as before, but there was overcrowding. Tentatively people began to test what would happen if certain words weren't cashed. Could clarity be preserved more economically? At this moment the people made an unexpected discovery. As a result of the decree having been put into practice for so long, everything which existed had now become eloquent with all the words, thoughts, phrases which had ever been cashed for it. People found themselves in a *speaking* universe, in which words were no longer necessary.

A word-spinner's utopian dream! Yet buried within it is perhaps a clue about how writing becomes credible (when it does) and about the clarity of words.

One does not look *through* writing on to reality – as though a clean or dirty window-pane. Words are never transparent. They create their own space, the space of experience, not that of existence. Clarity of the written word has little to do with style as such. A baroque text can be clear; a simple one can be dim. Clarity, in my view, is the gift of the way the space, created by words in a given text, is arranged.

The task of arranging this space is not unlike that of furnishing and arranging a home. The aim is similar: to accommodate with ease what belongs there and to welcome those who enter. There are hospitable and inhospitable writings. Hospitality and clarity go together. Yet what does accommodate mean here? It means allowing each event recounted its own proper space. By event I mean what would become present if the words were cashed. In semiological jargon: the signified. The space required is not of course physical. A scarf may demand more space than a cloud. Everything depends upon the particular experience being recounted.

Lived events are ambi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTS ALIVE

ADVERTISING IN *MT* WORKS. PHONE TRACY, ON 01-608 0265. NOW.

TWO NEW PLAYS BY DAVID HARE

THE BAY AT NICE
AND
WRECKED EGGS

"Two riveting new plays ... witty and dense ... great fun" *(F. Times)*

COTTESLOE: Sept 24, 25, 26, 27(m&e), 29, 30.
Oct 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11(m&e), 17, 18(m&e), 20.

NT NATIONAL THEATRE

Student Standby:
£3 forty-five minutes before performance
Box Office & Credit Cards 01-928 2252

TIM ROTH

"IT IS A PERFORMANCE OF EXTRAORDINARY VIRTUOSITY. NO ONE SHOULD MISS IT."

METAMORPHOSIS

STAGED BY STEVEN BERKOFF

MERMAID THEATRE UNTIL 18 OCTOBER

BOX-OFFICE: 01-236 5568

MERMAID THEATRE

WORLD PREMIERE

STEVEN BERKOFF's SINK THE BELGRANO!

2 SEPT – 11 OCT
HALF MOON THEATRE
213 Mile End Road London E1
BOX OFFICE 01 790 4000

BILLY BRAGG

TALKING WITH THE TAXMAN ABOUT POETRY

THE *DIFFICULT* THIRD ALBUM OUT NOW £4.49

12 NEW SONGS

GREETINGS TO THE NEW BRUNETTE
TRAIN TRAIN
THE MARRIAGE
IDEOLOGY
LEVI STUBBS' TEARS
HONEY, I'M A BIG BOY NOW
THERE IS POWER IN A UNION
HELP SAVE THE YOUTH OF AMERICA
WISHING THE DAYS AWAY
THE PASSION
THE WARMEST ROOM
THE HOME FRONT

ON TOUR IN SEPTEMBER
WITH SPECIAL GUESTS MINT JULEPS AND THIRTEEN MOONS TICKETS £4.50

ROSA
LUXEMBURG

A Film by MARGARETHE VON TROTTA
starring BARBARA SUKOWA

PG

"A MAGNIFICENT ROSA" CITY LIMITS
"A TOWERING PERFORMANCE" Philip French, OBSERVER
"SUPERB AS ROSA" ELLE

"No film in London at the moment has more serious intent or raises more important questions" Derek Malcolm, THE GUARDIAN
"An exceptional film" George Perry, ILN

WINNER BEST ACTRESS Cannes Festival 1986

NOW SHOWING
FILM DAILY AT
1.00 3.30 6.00 8.30

Lumière 379 3014 836 0691

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

guous because no experience comes alone and so a single event entails many others. A lived event – from the point of the purist – keeps bad company, is promiscuous. This is perhaps where the principal difference between science and art begins.

Let us take an extremely simple example of ambiguity in the practice of narration. *The ship sailed out of the port.* An adventure or a farewell? From the quayside the mood is passive; from the stern of the ship it is active. The ensuing words will remove certain ambiguities and, at the same time, will entail other, new ones. *He looked towards the horizon.* An act of will, an act of habit? *The screeching gulls reminded him of his father, lost off Cape Wrath.*

Each event, each object needs to be allowed the space of its ambiguities and each subsequent one needs to acknowledge the ambiguities it has eliminated.

The father's death 'acknowledges' the ship's sailing away. The suggestion that the father was a sailor or a fisherman 'acknowledges' the son's looking at the horizon. An unspoken dialogue is taking place between the events. The problem of narration is not, as is often believed, the problem of 'finding the words', but that of choosing and placing events, of allowing or instigating their wordless dialogue.

The complexity of choices involved, when they concern a whole text, would defeat the most sophisticated computer, because it culd never be adequately programmed. The writer, programmed by his experience of life and of the inarticulate, accommodates, intuitively, rarely by calculation. He becomes his own writing's instinct of self-preservation: an instinct applied to keeping open the space for reciprocal ambiguities without end.

The moment the writer's attention is diverted by considerations of style, rhetoric or verbal glory, his words, instead of containing, will merely evoke. The moment he simply repeats facts instead of imagining the experience of them, his writing will be reduced to a document.

The credibility of words involves a strange dialectic. It is the writer's openness to the ambiguity and uncertainty of any experience (even the experience of determination and certainty) which gives clarity, and thus a kind of certitude, to his writing. He has to abjure words so that, abandoned, they join the 'object', the narrated event, which then becomes eloquent with them. The country in my dream was, in fact, literature.

Authenticity in literature does not come from the writer's personal honesty. There have been great writers who were mythomaniacs. Writers in general break their word at least as often as most other sedentary people. Moreover many writers – not all – are excessively egocentric, blind to everything that turns its back on them. The disappointment of readers on meeting an admired writer probably begins with this confusion about the source of authenticity. It has little to do with either honesty or wisdom; still less with a devotion to beauty or to aesthetics. All 'beautiful' writing is dim. Authenticity comes from a single faithfulness: that to the ambiguity of experience. Its energy is to be found in how one event leads to another. Its mystery is not in the words but on the page.

Recently a new book of mine came out. I received the first copy from the publishers. It was so badly designed, so grubbily laid-out and so carelessly produced, that the sight of it, instead of affording a small pleasure, was sad and discouraging – like dirty clothes can sometimes be. My son, Jacob, was with me and we decided to burn it.

We dropped the book into the wood stove which was heating the kitchen. Outside it was snowing. A few minutes later, far from discouraged, we were watching it burn. The lines of print, the black words turned white, whiter than the paper. Then an entire page became uniformly incandescent, and radiant with energy. The pages burning were like ideal pages being written.

The writer should be informed to the maximum about what he is writing. In the modern world in which thousands of people are dying every hour as a consequence of politics, no writing anywhere can begin to be credible unless it is informed by political awareness and principles. Writers who have neither produce utopian trash. The unpardonable perversity of our *fin du siecle* is that of its innocence.

If I speak of mystery, it is not to encourage mystification or cultivated naivety, but only to suggest that the credibility of writing – and hence its force – derives from a wordless acknowledgement of mystery. Most words applied directly to mysteries are either cant (to defend some power or privilege) or sincere yet unconvincing.

If a writer is not driven by a desire for the most demanding verbal precision, the true ambiguity of events escapes him. The amorphous does not require accommodation; it simply fills the room (or book) like a gas. He can only abjure words when he has asked too much of them. And at that moment the ambivalent eloquence of the event saves him.

When his pages are finished, the reciprocal ambiguities coalesce into a mystery. Mystifications protect power. Mysteries protect the sacred. Any writer whose writing possesses the credibility I am talking about has been moved by the simple conviction that life itself is sacred. This is the starting point.●

John Berger

Illustration: Clifford Harper

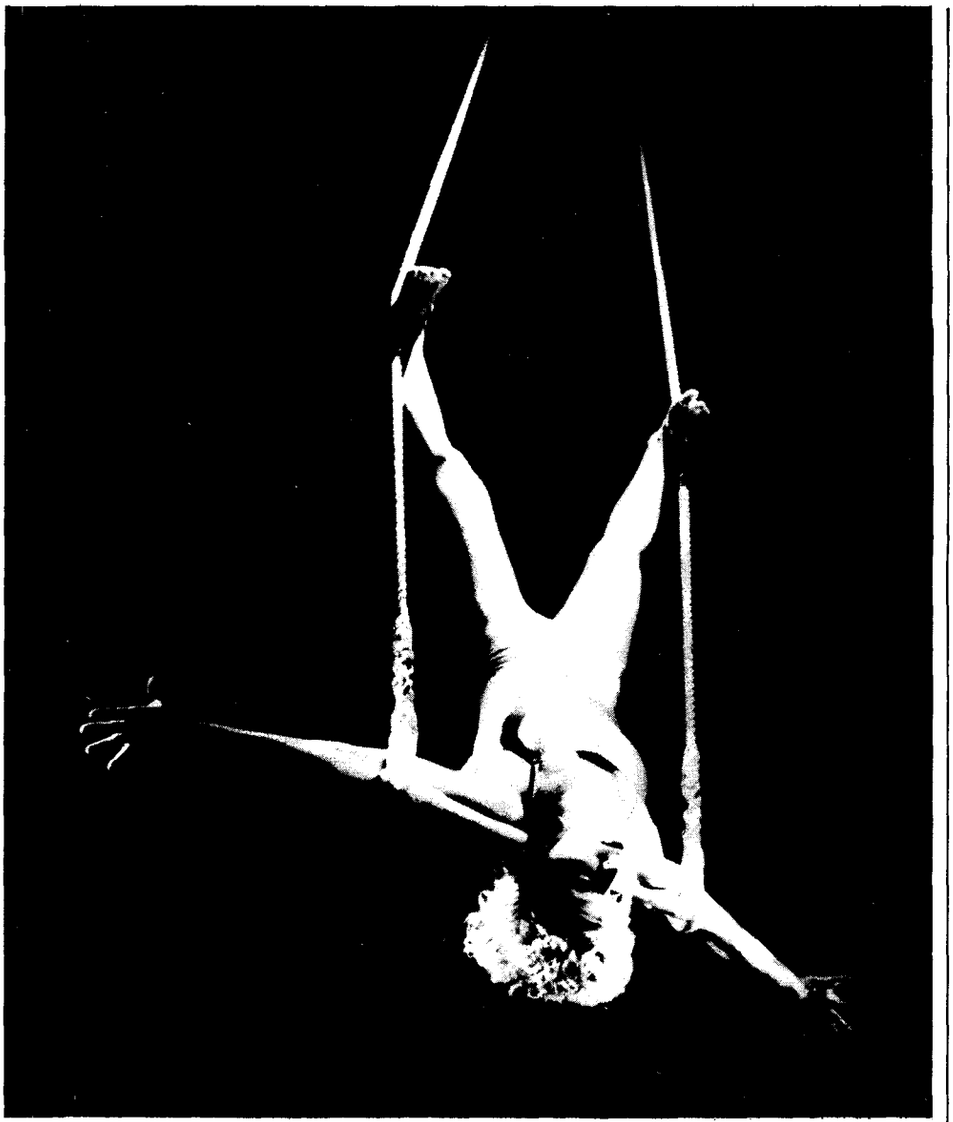
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After the Fringe

With close on 1,000 productions shoehorned into three weeks, you can choose to view the Edinburgh fringe festival from practically any angle you want. The audience is predominantly Scottish, out for a good time and not frightened of political ideas.

The audience at least were well served by the comedy performers this year. Of the established names, Jenny Lecoat, Roy Hutchins and Simon Fanshawe all pushed against the limitations of the cabaret format and came up with exciting new material, while Glasgow not only fielded Arnold Brown, Ivor Cutler and Oscar McLennan, but also two new talents – Bing Hitler, a kind of mutated Jim Davidson, and delinquent magician Jerry Sadowitz.

Hull Truck's *Cramp*



Circus skills on display: Ra Ra Zoo at the fringe

Hull Truck have become Edinburgh's most popular theatre company thanks to *Up And Under* and a string of plays by John Godber about working-class culture. *Cramp*, which focused on a young weight-lifter, seemed set to continue in the same vein, but Tom Robinson's music, an excellent cast and a dramatic final twist made this the group's most interesting piece for some time.

One of the pleasures of the fringe is stumbling on the unexpected. At 10.30 in the morning, in the most uncomfortable venue, Carole Pluckrose performed *Fallen*, a play by Polly Teale which brilliantly related the 'Kerry babies' murder trial to some of the wider issues of Ireland today. Lunchtime at the Mandela Theatre, one of the many new venues around Edinburgh, brought Eileen Nicholas in *Request Programme*, a disturbing and beautifully-performed vision of a life spent alone, written by Kroetz and directed by Nancy Diuguid.

There was so much more to enthuse about – Happy End, a 21-strong brass band playing joyous political music; Amampondo, a squad of South African drummers who shook the fabric of the Assembly Rooms and are returning for a full tour next May; *Cafe Tabou*, a cabaret of Boris Vian's songs staged in a masonic lodge, and 'Coincidental Music', an enthusiastic season of avant-garde music in a Unitarian church.

But one group seemed to sum up all the energy, diversity and excitement that infects the fringe. Ra-Ra Zoo cut up highly-developed circus skills with strange, vivid music and a wonderful sense of comic self-deprecation – they are touring nationally at the moment, and are set to take on a West End season next year ●

David Jones

Future Performances

Jenny Lecoat, Roy Hutchins and *Request Programme* are all appearing in the Perrier season (to Oct 11) at the Donmar Warehouse, London.

Hull Truck finish a season at the Bloomsbury Theatre, London late in September, and run at the Spring St Theatre in Hull through October.

Fallen will be seen in London, but they haven't confirmed where yet.

Happy End are at the Donmar Warehouse (as above) and then the Hope Centre, Bristol Oct 25 and Marlow Playhouse Nov 6.

Ra-Ra Zoo are at Barnstable Oct 31 and Nov 1 and Hope Centre, Bristol Nov 7 and 8.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Draught image

15 years ago lager accounted for less than 10% of the British beer market. Last year it represented 42% of beer sales and industry experts reckon that the trend will continue. It is expected that, within the next five years, more than 50% of beer sales will be lagers.

The growth of lager sales is the more remarkable in a market which is in overall decline, as drinkers switch out of beer to more sophisticated products.

The shift to lagers is part of a wider movement away from traditional drinks towards lighter, tasteless beverages – a trend paralleled by the growing popularity of vodka in the spirits market.

These lighter drinks enjoy an entirely baseless reputation for being healthier and less fattening. So they appeal to a category of weight-conscious people who enjoy the idea of drinking alcohol and dislike the flavour. 'All the trends in drinking are towards a lower lead time before a customer gets to like a product,' says industry expert John Dunsmore of stockbrokers Wood Mackenzie. Lagers are the brewing industry's equivalent of the *Sun* newspaper, appealing to an ill-educated drinking public.

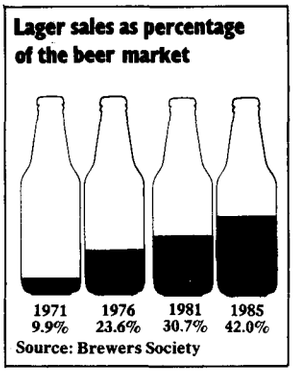
True, at the top end of the market, among so-called 'premium' brands, there really is a difference between Becks, Stella Artois and Hobec. But the important market is for standard lagers, such as Hofmeister, Fosters or Carling. These are hard to differentiate by quality. Image is the thing.

In the past, when lager represented a relatively small part of the market, most pubs only offered one draught brand. Customers were more likely to ask for 'a pint of lager' than a specific brand. With the explosion of lager drinking, more brands have become available and brewers have struggled to establish brand supremacy. When Fosters was launched people started to ask for it by name.

The introduction of Fosters and Castlemaine did much to dispel any remaining 'continental mystique' that may have surrounded lager drinking. These two campaigns – unlike, say, Carlsberg – emphasised the simple, manly aspect of lager drinking.

Carlsberg's emphasis on the exclusivity of its product always carried with it the danger of alienating that important category of drinkers who liked drinking for drinking's sake. The Castlemaine campaign in particular reduced drinking to its bare essentials. Lager had come of age. It had become the drink of the masses ●

Peter Oborne



Rosa

It took maybe 20 minutes to shake off any attempt to cope with the nuances of German left politics at the turn of the century. Having achieved that, *Rosa Luxemburg* becomes an eminently enjoyable and thought-provoking film which works without a detailed knowledge of the ins and outs of German social democracy (though it is advisable to read the lengthy programme notes which accompany the film to avoid confusion).

I have always had an image of Luxemburg as an austere, dedicated revolutionary, but Margarethe Von Trotta turns her into a human being – a skilled and exciting orator; a sometimes lonely, often impatient fighter, a passionate pacifist and a politician committed to trying to create the world she believes in.

Von Trotta's movie is not so much about Politics as about politics and the dilemmas of a dynamic woman who would rather lead a quiet, ordinary life but finds herself compelled to try and change the world she lives in. Her Rosa is a warm woman, forced to make cold political decisions; an idealist who (in company with many contemporary feminists) prefers the company of her cat to even her closest male lover. She is someone who is capable of internalising her emotions almost to the point of self-destruction.

But she is also a survivor who uses her four years in prison during the first world war to write, grow plants and live, even under those harsh conditions. Above all, it is a very personal film about hope and despair, optimism and depression in the changing political climate of the time.

While it is beautifully shot in full period setting, the film has a timeless quality about it and Von Trotta has taken care to add deliberate contemporary resonances both in its story and its style. It is so rare to see history portrayed through the eyes of a woman, that *Rosa Luxemburg* is a breath of fresh air for any feminist cinemagoer ●

Sally Hibbin

Tours

Autumn turns the leaves to brown and the bands go on tour. Here's *MT*'s idiosyncratic choice. See your local papers and the music press for details.

Christy Moore. Playing in a traditional Irish folk style but with a contemporary feel, his songs range from booze problems to El Salvador. The surprise hit of Glastonbury.

The Housemartins. The 4th best band in Hull and quite big in Belgium. Successful new pop band from the Go! Discs stable ('The label that leans to the Left'). £1 refund on the door to UB40 holders.

The Fall. 'If you're so anti fashion, then wear flares' – they do. Led by Mark E Smith, a Mancunian musical Lenny Bruce, they attack social hypocrisy and mediocrity in a rambling, chaotic manner that often hits the mark.

Eurythmics. Who could want to miss the magnificent presence of Annie Lennox on stage? A rare opportunity to see a live performance. New material from latest album and new backing band.

B B King. The legendary blues guitarist returns for a tour of the UK, his powers undiminished by the passing years. See him so you can tell the tale.

Publications

Red Wedge is much more than just pop stars exhorting us to 'get involved'. Its activities branch out into all areas of popular culture and entertainment. This is just one of a set of 10 postcards from Reds-A-Go Go, a collective of young illustrators.

Available from Postcards Red Wedge, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17 1JT, at £2.50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REGENT
HOLIDAYS U.K. LTD.

CHINA WITHOUT SURCHARGES

- ★ Group tours and individual arrangements
- ★ Tours direct to China and via Soviet Union and Mongolia
- ★ Regional departures from 14 different UK airports
- ★ Tours to NORTH KOREA also featured

ALBANIA – SPECIALISTS SINCE 1970

- ★ Eight tours in 1987
- ★ Prices guaranteed – no surcharges

CHRISTMAS IN CUBA

- ★ 7 December 1986 – 5 January 1987
- ★ One week in Havana and one week Varadero

For individual brochures on these destinations please write to:
Regent Holidays, 13 Small Street, Bristol BS1 1DE
Tel (0272) 211711
ABTA and IATA agents

ZED BOOKS
AUTUMN TITLES

THE CIA
A FORGOTTEN HISTORY
WILLIAM BLUM
A scrupulously documented country-by-country account of CIA activities since 1945.
432pp • p/b £8.95

QADHAFI'S LIBYA
JONATHAN BEARMAN
Looks behind the rhetoric and reveals the complexities of Libyan society and politics.
304pp • p/b £6.95

MY FRIEND, THE ENEMY
URI AVNERY
Israeli peace activist and politician details his meeting with Yassir Arafat during the siege of Beirut.
344pp • p/b £7.95

Zed

Zed Books Ltd, 57 Caledonian Road, London N1 9BU

LGIU
LOCAL GOVERNMENT INFORMATION UNIT

The Local Government Information Unit keeps you informed about local government. Our subscription service cost £20 per year and gives you

- ■ Monthly Information Briefings which updates on local government issues.
- ■ Special Issue Briefings focussing on topics such as Housing, Privatisation, Rate Support Grant.
- ■ Women's News, Trade Union Briefing, Cuts Monitor, Legal Notes.

To LGIU: (Subs) 1-5 Bath Street, London EC1V 9QQ
Please put me on your subscription list.

NAME: .....

ADDRESS: .....

.....

.....

I enclose £20 cheque/postal order payable to LGIU.

FABIAN society

Fabian Autumn Debates

SOCIALISM AND FEMINISM

A series of debates on recent developments in feminism.

Weds 5 Nov
Women as Victims
Clare Short MP, Loretta Loach (Spare Rib),
Chair – Andrew McIntosh

Weds 12 Nov
Motherhood or Career?
Penelope Leach (child care specialist and author), Julia Branen (Thomas Coram Research Institute).
Chair – Joan Lestor

Weds 19 Nov
A Ministry for Women?
Jo Richardson MP, Terry Marsland (TASS)
Chair – Tessa Blackstone

Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd, London NW1
All at 7.30pm
Tickets £2.50/£: cheques payable to Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth St, London SW1 9BN.

BUILDING UCATT FOR THE FUTURE

UNION OF CONSTRUCTION, ALLIED TRADES AND TECHNICIANS (Scottish Region)

Working for a Labour Future. Greetings to all delegates at the 1986 Labour Party Conference.

J. McBride (Regional Secretary)
T. Tosh (Regional Chairman).

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Independent's Celebrations

This month sees the launch of the first new quality daily paper in Britain this century. With £18M of capital from a wide range of City institutions (and rules to stop any would-be proprietor buying control), more than 200 of some of Fleet Street's best journalists and a high-tech low cost base, *The Independent* aims to sell between 350,000 and 400,000 copies a day to middle class 20 to 45 year olds. Unlike Eddy Shah's *Today*, the paper will be launched after months of meticulous planning and dummy runs. Christopher Hird asked the paper's founder and editor, former *Daily Telegraph* City Editor, Andreas Whittam Smith, about the plans and prospects for the new paper.

Let's start almost at the beginning. You've said that Eddie Shah was a catalyst for this idea. What is it that you admire in him?

I didn't think it was possible to start a new newspaper until he got up and said he was going to do it. I just admire him for that really. The point about a catalyst is that what they do is evident if you look again with fresh eyes: the technology was there, and had been there for some time; the change in labour relations had been unwinding for some time; colour, which he thought to be very important, had been around for some time; he just saw that you could put it all together.

I thought that one should do it differently so from the beginning, I said that we would use normal printing plants, wholly unionised, and that would have the advantage that we could go into the normal distribution system. That's what we're doing.

Was that just a practical decision on your part?

Yes. It was practical. It was also a feeling that I wanted to go with the grain of the way the business works. It's all very well to take a risk but the first thing you should do after you've decided to take a big risk is to find at least a thousand ways of reducing it.

But as far as setting the paper was concerned you were committed from the beginning to new technology.

Yes. I couldn't get into the market unless I did that. It's as simple as that. You can't get into the market unless you raise a lot of money. And you can't raise a lot of money unless you can show a very high return to compensate for the evident risk. And you can't show that very high return unless you do direct input. It all links together.

Why did you call your paper *The Independent*?

We thought that it best described what we were. Independent means a number of things in our minds. First of all our editorial stance is that we hold ourselves out as querying the establishment of the day – the government of the day, Left or Right, – trade union executives, public company boards and test and county cricket boards. Secondly, to campaign on issues that arise out of good reporting.

Give me an example of something that you might be campaigning on this week.

There's been a report very recently on the whole appalling bed and breakfast situation, homeless families and the state of children and children's health in those places. There were more, worse, statistics last week. That's the sort of thing that might turn into some steady reporting and then into a campaign.

Bed and breakfast seems a good issue to campaign around but is it a question of saying 'Stop this evil' or, 'this is how we can stop this evil now. That's what we'll campaign for, a solution to it.'

It would be considerably better if we could put forward a solution. That really would be worthwhile. I mean we haven't done the reporting and we haven't thought it through so I can't really give you an answer. I'm not quite sure what it would lead to.

The other thing is that we're independent of the whole Fleet Street tradition. We're not an empire ruled by fear. We want to get away from all those bad management practices of Fleet Street. We want everybody to be shareholders if possible. That's the whole point of the stock option scheme. We want everybody to be treated equally across the company. We have maximum information after every board meeting. I take the whole of the editorial staff – and the others do it in their departments – through every figure; we will discuss the editorial budget in the greatest detail. I was never myself taken through any of the finances at the *Telegraph*.

What I haven't got any feel for is what sort of politics the paper is likely to represent.

It's hard to answer that at the moment. I don't believe in prejudging issues. We'll obviously develop our politics. I see ourselves in the tradition of *The Economist*, the *Financial Times* and the old *Sunday Times*, which were not predictable along party lines but which were – still are in the case of the *FT* and *The Economist* – perfectly capable of consistent and coherent opinions which if you were to put them in a bundle no doubt would turn out to be some position in the political spectrum.

I frankly don't know what our bundle will look like yet. I've just taken on 200 very talented journalists. I'm not sitting here to force a line upon them. I think the only thing you can reliably assume is that as we are the purest product of the market system – you know, we raised our cash on the open market, we live or die by it, they can close us down – we're so much a product of the market system that I'm sure we will, generally, be looking to market solutions to problems.

I suppose I find it hard to believe that a company with Marcus Sieff as the chairman and a pretty heavy proportion of its staff from the *Daily Telegraph* will come out anywhere other than somewhere in the Conservative Party.

I don't know. Two leader writers come from *The Guardian* for a start. And I'm sure you know lots of the people here – some of them have notably leftwing views. I think we're probably going to have a weekly meeting when we can basically discuss what are the big things coming up in the week. We will ask the specialists to those meetings – because we do want specialists to write leaders – and we'll have to hammer out a line between us.

Andreas Whittam Smith

How would you describe your own politics then?

I've worked for *The Times*, *The Guardian*, the *Telegraph* twice – so you draw your conclusion.

How many political parties have you voted for?

In 62 or 63 I stood as a Liberal local councillor in Chelsea. I voted for Labour in 64 – white heat, new technology. I voted for them again in 66. And I think I've voted Conservative since then.

How do you think your paper will differ from the three titles that you are clearly aiming to get readers from – *The Guardian*, The *Telegraph* and *The Times*?

It's hard to answer that. First of all we're focused – we do think of 20-45 year olds and what they need. Starting at the back with sports. These people are much more in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The snappy 'Soul-cialists' and the discreet (left breast) 'Logo' T-Shirts, available only in loose and breezy large and extra large sizes

RED WEDGE

Indicate the number/size of shirts you require in the boxes below. The actual designs are red and black on the logo shirt and full colour on the soul-cialists shirt. All shirts are white. The enamel badge has a red and black logo on a white background.

	LARGE	XTRA-LARGE
SOUL-CIALISTS T-SHIRT (£5.50 each)	☐	☐
LOGO T-SHIRT (£4.50 each)	☐	☐
LOGO ENAMEL BADGE £1.75 each	Number required ☐	

Each order should be sent with a cheque (made payable to 'DOWN TO SIZE') or postal order. All prices include postage and packing. Allow 28 days for delivery.

*NAME*_____

*ADDRESS*_____

Cut-out or hand-copy this coupon and send to:
RED SHIRTS, 150 WALWORTH ROAD,
LONDON SE17 1JT

ONE ADMIT ON
BIRMINGHAM Film & Television Festival '86
OCTOBER 23 – NOVEMBER 2 1986

SPECIAL EVENTS: Soap City – a soap weekend; Black Filmaking: NEW TRADITIONS; Towards a Regional Media Industry; Women in the Cities; Take Two Cities – Birmingham and Frankfurt and three childrens matinees.

NEW RELEASES INCLUDE:

Rosa Luxemberg
Ping Pong
True Stories
Half Life
Gung Ho
Handsworth Songs
Passion of Remembrance
Decline of the American Empire
The Good Father
Desert Bloom
Down by Law

Full programme and festival membership details – Birmingham Film and TV Festival 021 235 3008.

ONE ADMIT ON
BIRMINGHAM Film & Television Festival '86
OCTOBER 23 – NOVEMBER 2 1986

BLACK POLITICS TODAY

Two meetings with Paul Robeson Jnr

Thurs 9 Oct. 7.30pm
Moselle Rooms, Tottenham Town Hall, High Rd N15
Meeting with Paul Robeson Jnr, speaker from SACTU and others.
Organised by Tottenham Communist Party.

Fri 10 Oct. 12.30pm
The Auditorium, South Bank Poly, London Rd Buildings, London Rd SE1

AMBER *CURRENT AFFAIRS*

PRIVATISATION: USING VIDEO IN A WORKPLACE CAMPAIGN
An example of success

Package One

THE AWARENESS CAMPAIGN 2 videos used in North Tyneside, Campaign poster, article detailing the campaign. £10 if tapes hired, £45 if tapes bought.
Prices exclude VAT and Postage

Package Two

THE AWARENESS CAMPAIGN Poster and article only.
£5 if tapes hired; £45 if tapes bought.
Prices exclude VAT and Postage

Available from: AMBER/SIDE DISTRIBUTION, 5 Side (rear), Newcastle upon Tyne. Tel: 091 232 2000.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terested in motor racing than they are in horse racing. In our qualitative research – using dummies where small groups were interviewed at length – we haven't found anyone who's interested in horse racing. So I'm not going to say we get rid of horse racing, far from it. All I say is that if you think carefully about the exact sporting interest of 20-45 years olds you will come to a slightly different answer from present newspapers.

Then we are going to do two pages of listings based on the *Time Out* method, which is designed for the 20-45s, because I can assume that they go out. I can also make the safe assumption that the arts page readers are more experimental, go-outish, liberal, than the entire age range would be.

How would your city pages differ from the city pages of the *Telegraph*?

The first thing we've done is divide the city and business pages so that business is adjacent to city but not muddled up in it. Rightly or wrongly, we shall not devote very much time to British Steel or shipbuilding or British Rail workshops because our readers neither work for them nor do business with them even.

So what would you devote time to?

All those businesses which seem to be producing opportunities, of which there are a very large number. You may have noticed the other day a company called Bywater that already employs 2000 people. It's been in business for seven years and it's just landed this very big irrigation equipment contract – amazing – I find that very interesting – standing start to 2000 people. I have not heard of it, personally, before. I really want to know about that company. And I'm sure a lot of readers do too. It's a story. It suggests that there's a good market internationally in this area. And I'm quite interested to know how they put it together, how they financed themselves.

About £160M of government money for this particular contract.

THE INDEPENDENT

That's part of the story isn't it? That's the way to do business.

You have said that this is a newspaper for the television age. What do you mean by this?

We're going to try to do what the American newspapers do rather well, the *New York Times* in particular and the *Herald Tribune* carry a lot of that stuff. We want to do analysis pieces so well that they look like news stories – analysis with quotes. Very specific background and analysis type pieces. Three or four on the home pages every day, a couple on the foreign pages – 600 word pieces, marked as such so the reader knows where they are. They're such a high art that the *New York Times* will actually lead its front page with such a piece.

It doesn't sound to me as though your proposal is greatly breaking the mould of what you might expect to find in a daily newspaper.

Look, we're not going to be fantastically, dramatically different, because it's not possible to be so. Newspapers have been doing their job for a very long time and they have learned a few lessons as they've gone along. We're not capable of tearing up the basic idea of newspapers and saying 'this is it'. We'll just push that much further than it's been pushed by *The Times* or the *Guardian* or the *Telegraph*. But the *FT* certainly does that.

Why will people buy your newspaper rather than, say, the *FT*?

The *FT* doesn't have lots of things that general papers have. It doesn't have any sport – it has a very good arts page – it doesn't have the same volume of home news. It doesn't have the same sort of foreign news. You're unlikely to get James Fenton reporting from Manila. Instead you will get an analysis of the Philippine debt.

But you get Patrick Cockburn in Moscow – pretty formidable competition there.

Yes.

One of the things that you lay great emphasis on is that you will provide balanced reporting. What do you mean by that?

Well – in our dummy issue the other day we wrote a rather slashing attack on one of these purveyors of slimming diets, which had been subjected to some very thorough scientific testing. However much we may think they're quacks and however damning the evidence is, we still have to go back to the purveyors and say 'What do you say?' Of course there's no such thing as a neutral piece of reporting because by deciding to do it in the first place you've made a value judgement, by giving it a large position on the front page or a small position on page 9 you've made another value judgement. But within that context I wish to attain balanced reporting.

What do you think the function of journalism is?

It's a number of functions. It's all clichés isn't it – as well as to inform, to articulate, to entertain – it's all of those things really – to help. By *articulate* I mean that opinions or feelings which have no outlet should be given voice in newspapers. And to *help:* you have a constituency who have no big battalions on their side – that's what I mean by help.

On the paper's independence: I understand that it's independent of all sorts of old traditions, old cultural values and also proprietors and parties, but it is going to rely for half its revenue on advertisers. How confident are you that you can be independent of the pressures that they can apply?

I'm terribly confident really because national newspapers are in a very lucky position *vis-a-vis* advertisers. The important fact is that no single advertiser's account is important enough to worry about its loss. I can't think of a single account that would upset us if it went. And in none of my experience in newspapers have I ever known an account whose loss I couldn't shrug off.

You're going for just under 400,000 as your average circulation in the first year. Where are these readers going to come from?

Well the first rule of business is that if you put a new product into any market, including dog food and newspapers, and it has some merit and you promote it properly, it will enlarge the market. That's an iron rule of business. There are not many examples in newspapers because there have been very few launches. But the *Star* and the *Mail on Sunday* both did it in very different ways.

We're forecasting a loss in the first trading year of just over £3M, so we've financed that already. Also, if we do 20% worse than expected, which is a circulation falling to 265,000 next February, and then just going above 300,000, our worst overdraft position will be about £½M against a £3M overdraft facility. Moreover, our shareholders, who are highly professional, being, as you know, the Prus, and Legal and Generals and nationalised industry pension funds of this world, understand the risks and they have very deep pockets.

So you're saying that if you need more finance in the first few months you think it would be forthcoming from them.

It would depend on the circumstances. If we'd made a complete and colossal cock-up of the whole exercise – a disgraceful product, ill-managed – and we'd lost money through carelessness . . . no! If, on the other hand, it just seems that time is needed I should think yes.

Do you think what you're doing is a gamble or a well informed hunch?

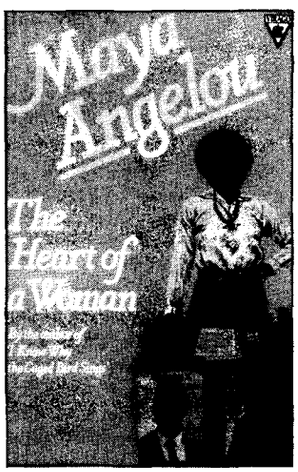
I'd rather not use the word gamble. It's just a straightforward old-fashioned risk. That's what it is. There's no way that you can avoid the problem that you don't know whether you're right, or you've got it together properly. You simply don't know until you hit the marketplace. I've tried to narrow the risk as much as possible but there's no way of avoiding it. There it is. You have a sudden jump. ●

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Talent to Inspire

The Heart of a Woman

Maya Angelou
Virago, £3.95 pbk



The unprecedented explosion of writings by African-American women in recent years tends to obscure the fact that black women were writing well before the advent of the women's movement in the 1970s. There exists a rich and myriad body of literature which begins with the slave narratives of outstanding women such as Phyllis Wheatly and Sojourner Truth and extends through the years to 20th century writers like Zora Neal Hurston, Nella Larsen, Ida B Wells and Gwendolyn Brooks.

While much of their work still remains hidden, they are the indisputable foremothers to the present genre of autobiographical writings amongst black women. Their books provide invaluable insights into black women's search for selfhood and signal the historical contexts of their lives.

Fortunately contemporary black women writers such as Audre Lorde, Alice Walker and Maya Angelou have not had to wait too long to see their writings published. Indeed they are rapidly becoming household names in Britain where the indigenous black community is eager for literary and cultural works which reflect their struggles imaginatively. Coupled with the growing vogue amongst publishers to add black women writers to their lists, it is fast proving to be a good commercial venture to market such books. Whatever the motive, such mass access to black women's writings is welcome.

Maya Angelou is one writer whose books have become rapid bestsellers in Britain. It would be somewhat of an understatement to call it a rare and unique achievement to have written four volumes of one's autobiography while still only in your fifties. But when that individual is a black woman who has lived the life that Maya Angelou has, then such an achievement can only be described as an extraordinary feat.

Maya Angelou began her literary career as a poet. When she was asked by Robert Loomis at Random House to write her autobiography, she refused. It was only when he said that he thought writing an autobiography as literature was the most difficult thing anyone could do, that she rose to the challenge. Since then, she has gone on to write four enthralling and awe-inspiring volumes of her autobiography.

Born in 1928 in St Louis, Missouri, Maya Angelou has had many careers and lived through exciting and revolutionary times, many of which are brilliantly recorded in these books. In *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1969), she recalls her bruised childhood, when at the age of three she goes to live with her grandmother in a small southern town. It is the story of girlhood maimed by the experience of rape at the age of eight. At 16 she gets pregnant and gives birth to her son Guy.

The second book, *Gather Together In My Name* (1974), vividly traces her courageous struggle as an unemployed and isolated single parent, briefly forced through circumstances to turn to prostitution and drugs. *Singin' and Swingin' and Gettin' Merry Like Christmas* (1976), her third book, describes Maya's stage debut, concluding with her return from the international tour of *Porgy and Bess* in which she was a featured dancer.

Maya Angelou lives her life with the energy of a tornado, resiliently struggling for self-affirmation and self-definition. In the face of appalling discrimination she retains her humour and optimism. These books chronicle and interpret Angelou's engagement with racist America as much as her struggle as a woman, a writer, an actress and a mother.

She continues to weave the emotionally rich and moving tapestry of her life in her fourth book, *The Heart of a Woman*, which Virago launched in September. This book sees Maya maturing into a writer and a full-time political activist who feels at ease with her success and creativity. The time is the 1950s and 60s and the book begins with Maya in Los Angeles going to live in Laurel Canyon (the official residential area of Hollywood), despite the efforts of a racist landlord who refuses to rent her the house. It is here that the legendary Billie Holiday visits and gets to know Maya and her son.

Mother and son are soon on the move again, this time to a neighbourhood 'where black skin was not regarded as one of nature's more unsightly mistakes'. She begins writing but feels restless and decides to move to New York where she survives her baptism into the Harlem Writers Group.

In the awakening summer of 1960, Angelou is fired with enthusiasm after hearing Martin Luther King speak. She organises a fund-raising 'Cabaret For Freedom' for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who invite her to become their coordinator. The fervour of those times is vividly recalled as she gets caught up in the civil rights movement. It is in writing about these events that Maya Angelou shows her skill as a literary craftswoman by highlighting the intrinsic relationship between her individual life and the social and political movements of the 1960s. In doing so she does not subordinate literature to political rhetoric yet reveals herself to be a very adept social and political commentator.

One envies her as she witnesses many crucial historical moments. She meets Martin Luther King and reveals a humorous side to this legendary man; she is present when Cuba and Russia meet on the streets of Harlem... Castro and Khrushchev embracing each other on 125th Street.

Amidst such momentous and significant events Maya is beset with loneliness. She meets a South African freedom fighter who promises 'a life of beckoning adventure and Africa.' Married life creates many tensions and frustrations for a woman not content to play the perfect wife, cooking, cleaning and scrubbing to her husband's satisfaction. Refusing such insularity she agrees to act in Genet's *The Blacks*, an experience she describes with brutal honesty.

A life full of partings and beginnings takes her to Cairo where her panache for adventure and survival come to her rescue as she is forced to take a job as an editor of the *Arab Observer*. Slowly the marriage disintegrates and she decides to go to Ghana to place her son in the university there.

The book ends with a moving account of Maya's separation from her son. This final parting does not leave her as devastated as she imagined she would be, but eager to begin a new chapter in her life.

Through charting her personal journey, Maya Angelou has succeeded in mapping out the contours of the collective history of her people. In the true tradition of her ancestral sisters, she has captured the political and cultural realities of her time. Maya Angelou writes with vivacity, force and emotion. It is not difficult to be stunned by her radiance and inspired by her capacity for creative survival. I eagerly await future volumes ●

Pratibha Parmar

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Glasgow the Brave

The Politics of the UCS Work-In: Class Alliances and the Right to Work

John Foster and Charles Woolfson
Lawrence and Wishart £9.95 pbk

Of the major industrial disputes in postwar Britain, the work-in at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders in 1971-72 was one of the most politically significant. It was not only about wages and conditions, but also about the right to work and the defence of working class communities.

In Scotland the work-in captured the imagination of the country. UCS was argued upon a Scottish basis – defence of Scottish jobs and industry – and raised the level of national consciousness; significantly, in 1973 the Scottish National Party managed to win Govan (where UCS was partly situated) from Labour at a parliamentary bye-election.

The 'anti-monopoly' alliance forged by the UCS shop stewards was an essentially Scottish phenomenon involving small and middle business (threatened creditors of UCS), middle management, manual workers and clerical staff, tenants and community groups, the churches, local authorities, and individuals from all parties. The closure of UCS was perceived as a crisis for Scotland already facing the rundown of its traditional industries, rising unemployment, loss of control to England and America, and the loss of opportunity.

The formation of the anit-monopoly alliance in Scotland did not occur, the authors insist, through any dilution of the class content of the struggle. It was the working class which took the lead in posing the questions – moral and political – concerning the future of Scotland's national development.

Jimmy Reid was, undoubtedly, the most eloquent of the leading figures, but it was, perhaps, Jimmy Airlie who best summed up the prevailing mood when he spoke to a tv interviewer in the pouring rain outside the House of Commons: 'If there's any contraction or redundancies in this industry we will work-in, not occupy the yard because that's the word the press has been using. We are not a foreign power, we were born in that area and we will work-in. The right to work, it's our birthright and we won't give it up for any hatchetmen. . .'

The role played by the shop stewards was, not for the first time in Clydeside's history, crucial. Reid, Barr, Airlie and the others were part of the workforce and of the local communities (Reid was an elected Communist Party local councillor and member of the party's executive).

Gramscians would undoubtedly refer to them as prime examples of 'organic intellectuals'. Foster and Woolfson prefer the Leninist concept of the 'vanguard'. The stewards received their authority from the 'sectional' interests of the trades they represented but they also needed a strategic understanding of the dynamics of British capitalism and a political strategy suitable to the task confronting them. The Communist Party and its development of the popular front is seen as the crucial element in providing the perspective of the stewards.

If the authors successfully convey the excitement and optimism of the workforce in the early days of the work-in, they also bring out the tensions and uncertainties that came to the surface as the dispute dragged on for a full 16 months. Divisions arose between yards (UCS comprised four separate shipyards) and between trades; the boilermakers, in particular, threatened to 'snatch defeat from the jaws of victory' by their unwillingness to give up their differential. However, unity was maintained. This, the authors argue was the significant factor. The sectionalism of the Clyde trades is revealed as being anti-individualistic and having become, through technological development, more about group control over the production process.

It is one of the many strengths of this excellent book that it makes the national question of central significance, and explains how the working class came to dominate the national question in Scotland. As the recent campaign over Gartcosh has shown, the anti-monopoly alliance still commands widespread (in fact majority) support in Scotland. But, in the 14 years since UCS Scottish manufacturing industry has been decimated, and the closure of Gartcosh has sealed the fate of the Ravenscraig steel mill. The question now is whether the workers in large-scale industry still retain the strength to lead, or as is more likely, that only a much broader conception of working class strength can provide the basis of political leadership in the struggle against monopoly rule and to safeguard the future of Scotland's national development. ●

Jim Smyth

Familiar Trenches

Hidden Agendas: Theory, Politics and Experience in the Women's Movement

Elizabeth Wilson (with Angela Weir)
Tavistock £7.50 pbk

It is a bold act to exhume one's old articles and represent them as part of the politics of today. Elizabeth Wilson introduces her choice of articles as a critical commentary on a tendency which she calls 'socialist-feminism' which has 'moved away from a transformative perspective'. It is a pertinent anxiety.

She is a courageous writer who has written as an historian, a sociologist, a novelist and an autobiographer. Here it is her writings as political critic and polemicist which she has brought together. Polemic is a hard form to bring off, not least because it exposes the writer to the question Wilson herself raises in a couple of essays: OK, so all these people are wrong; what are you proposing? Perhaps this is why the best polemicists have been those with a sure sense of their core theory in history and politics. Whatever the stimulating and perceptive insights in Wilson's retrospective view of past controversies, it does not have a coherent core from which the polemical darts are fired.

At one point, Wilson suggests that the themes in the opening set of articles lead to a denunciation of nearly all the 1970s pioneers of new marxist and feminist thought. It is hard to find these consistent themes. She does seem to argue, with consistency, for the 'primacy of the political'; the works of Ros Coward, Juliet Mitchell, Beatrix Campbell, Selma James, Barry Hindess, Paul Hirst and a host of others are, in the end, criticised for their political implications – 'dead end' or reactionary – rather than for any theoretical shortcomings. And yet, by 1984, in defending an orthodox marxist tradition, she is castigating Michel Foucault for contributing to the 'deconstruction' of the 'primacy of the economic'. Does she think marxism is a comprehensive theory which, read correctly, holds the key to race and sex oppression as well as to class? Or does she think it inhabits a separate sphere while the politics of women's liberation inhabit another?

She seems to be arguing for separation in one of the best pieces in the book, her critique of *Beyond the Fragments*. Here she develops an important and underrated argument that 'socialist-feminists' see feminism as the humanising hand-maiden of socialism.

In her 1980 piece on socialist welfare, a subject in which she has done original research, she buzzes so fast from one target of attack to the next, that I found it very hard to grasp exactly what she does think are the forces

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which have shaped the welfare state; where, in fact, she thinks power lies in society.

If Wilson's politics are now closest to the theoretical writers like Ellen Meiksins Wood (whom she cites approvingly) and the anti-eurocommunism being developed by *New Left Review*, these are not the politics of her earlier writings. Not that there's anything wrong in changing your position. But in that case I would like to have read an acknowledgement that the 1970s culture of political innovation, through which Wilson found her political voice, owed its existence to precisely the 'voluntarism' and 'pluralism' of political paths (libertarian, lifestyle, wages for housework, political lesbianism, marxist party. . .) which she now denounces as inimical to good politics.

Most importantly, the pieces do not add up to a case that there is a tendency called socialist-feminism which has moved to the right, though there has certainly been a decline in feminist political activity. To find the reasons for this I believe we have to plough on along the paths that the 1970s opened up – of examining changing class structure and political allegiance, of analysing the mutual relationships of class, sex, race and state; of exploring the nature of popular consciousness; of what we mean by political. To me, the politics with which Wilson has associated herself represent a panic-stricken look at the newly open terrain of politics and a leap into the safety of a familiar trench called 'class politics.'

Perhaps the most consistent theme of the collection lies in the three short words with which she opens the book and re-iterates in later articles: 'not for me.' In the shortest and one of the most successful pieces of writing, she describes her profound sense of being different from other people, an identity she both aspired to, and was forced into, by her lesbianism. It is when she writes autobiographically that she finds a unitary voice.

But the autobiographical voice she uses in discussing lesbianism and gay liberation is one she will not adopt in 'straight' politics. In her autobiographical voice she has this vivid account of the late 60s: 'Politics was a new kind of good time. We wrenched an optimism and vitality from the menace of the future. We were the urban guerillas of the ideological war. We were the froth on the nightmare of capitalism, riding the breakers of revolution. I experienced more intensely than ever before, or since, my *identity* as a lesbian.'

This is not the voice of the sharp critic of voluntarism and un-marxism, of lifestyle politics and spontaneism. Perhaps this is the mark of the shift from the person who, up to 1980, describes herself as a marxist feminist and in 1986 insists on the description 'I am a marxist and a feminist' as two separate political beings. If the focus of the book is not the changes in the writer herself, perhaps it has to be the shift from the desire to go 'beyond the fragments' to a state of resignation that the fragments are not to be reconciled. ●

Sarah Benton

Flashes of Difference

Faith in Fakes

Umberto Eco
Secker and Warburg £15

When professors write articles for popular daily newspapers, the project often has an air of coy transgression: of hair winsomely let down, of hands decorously dirtied and of principles comfortably twinkling in the pale light of populism. That Umberto Eco manages to avoid squirm-making consequences of this order might well stand as the central achievement of his current collection of essays. Not the least of its triumphs is over a publisher who insists on their author being described as a sort of academic Gary Cooper 'probing, provocative, scholarly and irreverent' riding a 'mind of omnivorous curiosity' nobly into the cultural sunset. The photograph on the back of the jacket proves consequently reassuring. Resolutely bearded and besuited, it confirms the author as solid semiotician rather than swaggering sod-buster: one in whom the wearing of jeans prompts only the sober reflection that 'a garment that squeezes the testicles makes a man think differently'.

Thinking differently is of course the name of the game; or at least it is the aim of the game whose name is semiotics. Semiotics is the science of signs, one of those ancient pursuits to whose modern development Eco has made major contributions from the University of Bologna where he teaches. He is also a medieval scholar and the author of a famous novel, *The Name of the Rose* in which those interests combined to produce an absorbing medieval detective story which gave the function of signs an overt role. Such evident commitment to the combination of apparently disparate concerns ought to dispel any sense that the professor is here merely 'on holiday' from his real job.

Ranging from Disneyland to the World Cup, from Superman to St Thomas Aquinas, these essays prove far more than jokey accounts of specific social activity. In fact they offer an acute and beautifully judged application of semiotic insights to particular cases, coupled with a witty, lucid and wholly committed teasing out of the political and social implications involved. As a result, they do indeed make you think differently. It might even be said that the diversity of these pieces, and so of the perceptions to which they give rise, itself makes a valuable contribution to the academic discipline from which they derive. For during the last 20 years semiotics has been forced to abandon one of its original aims: the formulation of a universally applicable theory of how signs work. If some academic writing has yet to take on board the full implications of that disintegrated purpose, Eco's journalism remains brilliantly responsive to the flash of sudden insight.

The result is a series of trenchant and exhilarating observations whose concrete character gives them a diagnostic value worth a dozen abstractions. Thus the comment on the activity of the Red Brigades, that they 'must recognise that they are acting out a script already written by their presumed enemies', not only pinpoints a central and disturbing feature of recent European and American terrorism. It also reveals such groups as unwitting heirs to a romantic Catholic tradition who 'still think the state has a heart and that this heart can be wounded'. Their failure comes about because their action 'doesn't weaken the system, but rather recreates the consensus around the symbolic ghost of its "'heart", wounded and outraged'.

What truly weakens 'the system' then? Certainly demystifying accounts of how it produces the 'meanings' that it then enforces can help. Like Roland Barthes, Eco recognises that the major concern of the bourgeois world-view will always be to present its own specific beliefs, presuppositions and prejudices as if these were 'given': transcendent and unquestionable. That is, it will present as nature what is in fact culture. The ultimate task of semiotics is to reverse this process: to demonstrate that what we think of as 'natural' is effectively the product of our culture. The opportunities such a project provides for the wringing of political withers (to say nothing of testicles) can hardly be overestimated. In Eco's journalism, you might say, both are firmly and productively grasped. ●

Terence Hawkes

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Cover-Up

I Spy in Russia *Chatto & Windus £7.95 (pbk)* is a collection of photographs taken by **Tim Sebastien** during his 16-month stint as BBC tv's first Moscow correspondent.

Some are amusing, some touching, some evocative and almost all viewable, and Sebastien's commentary is in his characteristic pungent style.

He was one of 31 Britons ordered out of the Soviet Union last year in retaliation for the expulsion from Britain of a similar number of Soviet diplomats, journalists and others. Hence the title.

At one point he quotes himself as telling a Soviet colleague that he sees his aim as not to promote or denigrate, but 'simply to report'. But it all depends on *what* you report.

He says he tried to 'omit the familiar and include the unusual'. But we get the all-too-familiar and the all-too-usual: the fashion show, the church service, the pop singer. . .

There have been many similar collections. What would be really unfamiliar and unusual would be one that included pictures of ordinary Soviet people doing their ordinary jobs and living their ordinary lives ●

Dennis Ogden

Subject Women

In **Telling the Truth about Jerusalem: a collection of essays and poems** *Basil Blackwell £7.50 (pbk)* **Ann Oakley**'s influential feminist pen targets medical science and its allied disciplines as key agents in the cultural construction and historical subjection of women.

Different approaches to healthcare have contested not just healthcare *per se*, but more precisely female identity and motherhood. Both 'official' and 'unofficial' forms of healthcare have attempted to develop *the* 'truth' of motherhood.

Oakley's concern with 'subject woman' is developed here into what she terms women's 'insufficiently individuated sense of self'. Women are wives and mothers above all else; defined *in relation to* other subjects rather than as individuals in our own right.

This book bears out the slogan 'the personal is political': she juxtaposes essays with poems about herself as a caring, feeling, thinking woman. But in stressing women as carers, there is the danger of reproducing a (patriarchal) version of an essential femininity, which begs the question: is this the road to Jerusalem? ●

Jane Moore

Survival under Apartheid

For most women in South Africa, the right to work is neither a question of legislation nor a privilege granted by a liberal society. It is a matter of pure survival with little element of choice. **Working Women in South Africa** *Pluto Press and the Sached Trust £5.95 (pbk)* by **Lesley Lawson** tell their story.

The majority of women workers in agriculture and service work are especially vulnerable to apartheid's repressive laws. But even those African women in the factories who are protected by trade unions remain at the bottom of the employment ladder. They are the lowest paid and least skilled.

Both inside and outside the factories, 'women's work' is defined by the values of a morally bankrupt society. In a society which resists change as forcibly as South Africa does, African women face few options.

Here they tell their story through photographs, interviews, newspaper clippings and union memos. The ordinary working women of South Africa speak of their struggle against legal discrimination and oppression in the workplace and in the home.

This book shows how women strive for dignity against a growing awareness that their struggle to end racist and sexual oppression is a twofold one ●

Dede-Esi Amanor

Steel City

There can be no doubt that Britain's industrial cities are suffering desperately hard times. Nowhere is it more apparent than the once world-renowned 'steel city' of Sheffield.

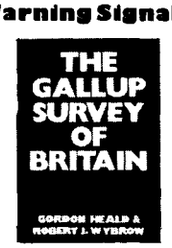
Geoffrey Beattie's colourful portrait of **The Survivors of Steel City** *Chatto & Windus £5.95 (pbk)* is the result of four years trying to learn what makes Sheffield tick. In the process he has learnt a bit about life in the steel mills and mines and a lot about life on the dole.

Some of the characters appear at first to be 'larger-than-life', his interviews range from 'respectable' citizens to racketeers and down-and-outs. But his vivid descriptions provoked my own memories of the steel/engineering industries and life in the coalfields, bringing to mind the genuinely varied personalities who contribute to the life of 'steel city'.

The book is sharp and clear, showing suffering and yet resilience. It is aptly named and is an interesting portrait of a community struggling to survive ●

Paul Hudson

Warning Signals



Let us praise the *Daily Telegraph* for its political philanthropy. It finances vast quantities of Gallup research, but publishes only a fraction. **The Gallup Survey of Britain** *Croom Helm £19.95 (hbk)*, by **Gordon Heald** and **Robert Wybrow** draws on the lot and provides as complete a guide to the electorate in mid-term as anyone could wish.

There are warning signals to all parties. Examples: for the Tories – 62% believe Britain is 'moving away from prosperity'. For Labour – a consistently large majority say the party is divided. For the Alliance – 3m have forgotten that they voted Liberal or SDP in 1983. (Most 'remember' voting Labour.)

Polls can never tell a party where it should aim; but they do provide a map of the electoral terrain. Gallup have provided the most detailed map yet ●

Peter Kellner

New Right; Old Racism

The 'new' in 'New Right' is about as meaningful as the 'IV' in 'Rocky IV'. An all embracing term grouping together liberterianism and authoritarianism. The one theme that maintains this curious marriage is the negation of state responsibility for fighting discrimination against black people.

The Runneymede Trust's **The New Right: Image and Reality** *£2.50 (pbk)* and *Searchlight*'s **New Right New Racism** *£3 (pbk)* both trace the attempts to ideologise conservatism. The Scruton/Powell approach to race relations is well known; a patriotic fear of 'alien culture' destroying this great nation of 'ours'.

More bizarre is the Friedmanite argument that markets will of themselves bring about the end of racism, by black people 'persuading' white that discrimination might prove contrary to their own interests. If the state adopts remedial action it can only prove counter-productive. Could it be that Labour's hard Right have been reading Friedman to arm themselves against black sections? ●

Paul Sharma

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JERUSALEM & PEACE SERVICE

DISCOVER ISRAEL

Going to Israel? Why not go on a tour which enables you to learn at first hand about aspects of Palestinian life by meeting and talking with a cross section of people: Palestinians as well as members of Israeli opposition groups.

Our next tour is from **16 November – 25 November 1986:** Fly London – Tel Aviv – London. Tour the Galilee, the Golan Heights, the West Bank, Jerusalem (five nights), the Gaza Strip and the Negev Desert. Our tours will provide you with an opportunity to gain a well informed overview of Palestinian society by meeting with workers, students, villagers, newspaper editors, actors, artists and politicians.

The tour will be an experience of a lifetime. The price of **£445** includes all flights, accomodation in three star hotels (nine nights), all transportation and food on a half board basis.

We also organise WOMEN'S & CULTURAL tours.
Please note the following dates:

- **27 January – 8 February 1987 Women's tour**
- **1 March – 12 March 1987 General tour**
- **15 March – 26 March 1987 Cultural tour**

Book now. For our free colour leaflet and further details either phone 01-226 7050 or write to:

JERUSALEM & PEACE SERVICE, 13 GOODWIN STREET, LONDON N4 3HQ. 01-226 7050

MIDLAND

"Dirty Business"
Womens Work and Trade Union Organisation in Contract Cleaning!!
By Angela Coyle (£2 incl. p&p)

Contract cleaning is now one of the fastest growing industries in the U.K. It is also one of the most profitable. An entire business has developed through the systematic exploitation of women workers. This pamphlet arises from research undertaken in the West Midlands. It is concerned to document the conditions of employment for women working for contract cleaning firms.

"Dirty Business" is published by West Midlands Low Pay Unit, Wolverley House, 18 Digbeth, Birmingham B5 6BJ. 021-643 3972

LOW PAY UNIT

Collets

CONFERENCE SEASON READING

Anna Paczuska.
Illustrated by Sophie Grillet
Socialism for Beginners
P/B £3.95 Unwin Paperbacks

Adrian Heath
How Britain Votes
ISBN Hardback 00803 18592 £15.50
ISBN Paper 00803 26471 £7.95
Pergamon Press (Oxford)

Will Co[illegible]
Class, Ideology and Community Educat[illegible]
224 pag[illegible]
Hardba[illegible]
Paper [illegible]

Michae[illegible]
Militan[illegible]
Paper [illegible]
Faber and Faber

Richard Raylor
Adult Education and the Working Class
224 pages
Hardback £17.95 ISBN 07099 2461 5
Croom Helm

Eric Hobsbawm
The Age of Capital
ISBN 297 769928
£15 Hardback
Weidenfeld and Nicholson

Eric Hobsbawm
Worlds of Labour
ISBN 297 [illegible] £15.95
ISBN 297 [illegible] £7.95
Weidenfeld and Nicholson

Eric Hobsbawm
[illegible]
Paper ISBN 297 [illegible] £5.95
Weidenfeld and Nicholson

Leo Panitch
Working Class Politics in Crisis: Essays on labour and the state
Hardback ISBN 86091 142X £19.95
Paper ISBN 86091 8491 £6.95
Verso

Landry, Morley, Southwood and Wright
What a Way to Run a Railroad – an Analysis of Radical Failure
Paper £2.50
Comedia

John Foster and Charles Woolfson
The Politics of the UCS Work-In
Paper £9.95 plus
Lawrence and Wishart

Big Red Diary 1987
[illegible]
Paper £3.95
Pluto

129/131 Charing Cross Rd ■ London WC2H 0EQ Tel: 01-734 0782
Open 10.00–6.30 weekdays/10.00–6.00 Sat.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UPDATE

Blackpool Fringe

The following are fringe meetings at the Labour Party conference, Sept 28-Oct 3.

Divided Britain
Child Poverty Action Group meeting with Jo Richardson, Jack Cunningham, Ruth Lister and Robin Cook.
New Clifton Hotel, Sept 27, 7pm.

The Shape of Things to Come
Labour Co-ordinating Committee looks ahead with speakers including Ken Livingstone, David Blunkett and Joan Ruddock.
Opera House Stage, Sept 28, 2pm.

The End of the Nuclear Era
CND, Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth *and many others* host a rally with speakers including Joan Ruddock and Tom Sawyer.
Pembroke Hotel, Sept 28, 9pm.

No Pasaran
Arts for Labour present a performance in commemoration of the Spanish Civil War with Jack Jones and Bob Edwards.
Imperial Hotel, Sept 29, 8pm.

Green Socialism
Socialist Environment and Resources Association make the link with Robin Cook, David Clark and Carol Tongue MEP.
Tara Hotel, Sept 29, 8pm.

Black Sections
Marc Wadsworth chairs a meeting featuring Bernie Grant and Diane Abbott.
Norbrick Castle Hotel, Sept 30, 8pm.

Red Wedge Meets the Delegates
Pop and politics mix, followed by a concert from Billy Bragg – tickets £4.50.
Opera House, Sept 30, 5.30 concert 7.30.

Tribune Rally
This year with Ken Livingstone, Tony Dubbins (NGA), and David Blunkett.
Opera House, Oct 1, 7.30pm.

News

World Cycle Ride for Eritrea
Two cyclists from Manchester, Pete Abel and Steve Perry, leave on Oct 6 to cycle round the world. Their aim is to raise £50,000 for War on Want's work with the Eritrean public health programme.
Further details and sponsorship – War on Want
061 228 2494.

Marxism Today continues to expand and we need volunteer staff to help with merchandising and design. You will receive expenses and play a full and active part in every aspect of the magazine. Many thanks to Laurence Budge for his help on this issue.
Contact Business Manager, *Jane Critchley, 16 St* John St, London EC1
Tel. 01 608 0265.

Studying in London?
Visit Communist Student stall at: South Bank Poly Sept 30, Institute of Education Oct 1, University of London Oct 7 – and many others.
Details Linda Arch 01 708 1221.

Meetings

Women and AIDS
Janet Green from the Terence Higgins Trust and Alice Henry from Off Our Backs discuss how women are at risk.
Oct 14, 7.30pm, Women's Reproductive Rights Information Centre, 52-54 Featherstone St, London EC1.

Democracy, Peace and Equality
Commemoration of the 1647 Putney Debates between the Levellers and Cromwell in the original location with Bea Campbell, Joan Ruddock and Peter Hain. £2/50p unwaged.
Nov 4, 7.30pm, St Mary's Church, Putney Bridge.

Events

Birmingham Film and Video Festival
A programme of major new releases, weekend and day forums, retrospectives and special events on the theme of 'The City Experience'.
Oct 23–Nov 1,
Contact Roger Shannon
021 235 3008.

Socialist Feminism
Bea Campbell leads a half-day discussion for women on making socialist feminism a popular movement.
Organised by Haringey Communist women's group.
Oct 26, 2.15–6pm, Cypriot Centre, Earlham Grove, Wood Green.

Mandela 10 km Road Race
Oct 26, 12 noon, Finsbury Pk, London. A *Marxism Today* event in association with Anti-Apartheid. Application forms from *Marxism Today,*
16 St John St, London EC1 (SAE please)
For details
Tel: 01 251 4406.

Left Unlimited

Brum Unlimited
16 sessions with speakers including Martin Jacques and Tariq Ali as well as fashion, video, music, exhibition, creche etc.
Oct 18, 11–1am, The Triangle, Birmingham.

Cambridge Left Unlimited
With sessions on higher education, pop, realignment and videos etc. Major speakers, creche, good access.
Oct 18, 10–6pm.
Contact Tom Shakespeare
0223 355456.

Is there life after Labour?
Bea Campbell, Tom Sawyer and Lindi Williams (Green Party) meet in Hull to discuss moving Labour beyond its traditional limits.
Oct 23 8pm.
Contact Janie Glen
0482 801580.

Racism and Society
Workshops on: racism in the labour movement; deportations and the immigration laws; racism and the police. Waltham Forest CP. Friends House, Bush Rd, E11. Oct 18, admission £1/50p unwaged.
Details 01 556 5995.

The People Alive
Sessions include 'Thatcherism and the environment', 'a world of change for women' with speakers: Sheila Rowbotham, Stuart Boyle (Friends of the Earth) and Pete Carter.
Maple School, Hall Place Gdns, St Albans, Oct 18, 11–6pm. £3/1.50 unwaged.

Publications

Offence of the Realm
The security forces' involvement in surveillance of the peace movement is described by Gillian Reeve and Joan Smith, based on Kathy Massiter's first-hand knowledge of M15.
Available from CND Publications Ltd, 22–24 Underwood St, London N1, £1.50.

Media Manifesto
The Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom call for democratic accountability in Britain's media.
Available from CPBF, 9 Poland St, London W1.

Employment Law under the Tories
The Labour Research Department report on the loss of both individual and collective freedoms at work since 1979, and provides details of the new laws.
Available from Labour Research Dept, 78 Blackfriars Rd, London SE1, price £1.10.

Entries for the November Update should be sent to the office by October 8. For information: tel Nick Mirzoeff on 01 673 3450. Please try to ensure you give details of disabled access.

This month's contributors include:

Alice Rawsthorn is a journalist on the *Financial Times*.
Glynn Williams is a sculptor.
David Dickson is European Correspondent for *Science* magazine.
Joe Schuartz is a physicist and author of *Einstein For Beginners*.
Alison Frater and **Alison Hadley** work for the Brook Advisory Centre.
Nicky Spencer is a journalist at Headline News Agency in Manchester.
Maurice Archer is a lawyer and member of the Communist Party.
Beatrix Campbell is a member of *Marxism Today*'s editorial board. She is the author of *Wigan Pier Revisited* and is currently completing a book on Conservative women *for Virago*.
Eric Hobsbawm was formerly Professor of Economic and Social History at Birkbeck College, London and is a member of *Marxism Today*'s editorial board.
Kate Soper's most recent book is *Humanism and Anti-Humanism* (1986). She teaches philosophy at the Polytechnic of North London and is active in END.
David Steel is the leader of the Liberal Party.
Malcolm Rutherford is the assistant editor and political analyst of the *Financial Times*.
Martin Jacques is the editor of *Marxism Today*.
Steve Iliffe is a GP, an editor of *Medicine In Society* and a member of the Communist Party.
Wendy Savage's book *A Savage Enquiry* is published by Virago this month. She is Senior Lecturer in Obstetrics & Gynaecology at the London Hospital.
Frankie Rickford is a freelance journalist.
Sarah Mower is fashion editor of *The Guardian*.
John Berger has written several books, both fiction and non-fiction. This month Pluto Press publish *Ways of Telling: The Work of John Berger*, a biography of him by Geoff Dyer.
Andreas Whittam-Smith is editor of *The Independent*.
Christopher Hird works for Fulcrum Productions, an independent television company.
Pratibha Parmar is a freelance writer and works part-time for the feminist publisher Sheba.
Jim Smyth is a member of the editorial board of *Radical Scotland*.
Sarah Benton writes for the *New Statesman*.
Terence Hawkes is Professor of English at University College, Cardiff and author of *Structuralism and Semiotics*.
Raphael Samuel is Tutor in History at Ruskin College, Oxford and an editor of *History Workshop Journal*.
David Edgar is a playwright and a member of *Marxism Today*'s editorial board.

The editor welcomes contributions and letters for publication in the journal. Further details if required from the editorial office. Please send SAE if you want an acknowledgement or manuscript returned. The views expressed by authors are personal and not necessarily those of the editor or editorial board.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reopening Old Wounds

Once upon a time the Communist Party stood – or believed it stood – for unity. It played down differences within the Left, or at any rate those within the left wing of the Labour Party and the trade union movement. It made common cause with people of different persuasions when there was a campaign that it was anxious to forward – with shop steward militants in the Minority Movement of the 1920s, with Liberals and even Conservatives in the Spanish Aid campaigns, with pacifists and ILPers during the People's Convention.

No doubt, as in any other politics there were elements of self-deception and it was premised (as are Communist initiatives today) on fidelity to the party line. But the watchword of 'unity' – the great enthusiasm of the party's boilermaker – general secretary, Harry Pollitt, – corresponded to the common sense beliefs of British trade unionists at that time, and no doubt accounted for the CPGB's appeal, over a period of some 50 years, to the more active spirits. As the 'red' version of 'Green Grow the Rushes-O' had it in the days when I was a YCLer (1950-56): One is workers unity, And ever more shall be so

To-day however, the party, or at any rate those in the editorial direction of *Marxism Today* who publish in its name, seems to be setting up in business as professional **splitters, and though extending an apparently limitless tolerance to people on the Right, it attempts to build a Chinese Wall on the Left, both in the CPGB itself,** where supporters of the *Morning Star* are consigned to outer space eg, John Foster, the labour historian, whose name has disappeared without explanation from your masthead; and within the labour movement, where the Left is scythed into two opposing camps.

Either (with a little help from interviewers), they turn on your spit, as Ken Livingstone has done (you are neither the first nor the last to whom he has been so obliging: in the days when he was launching *Labour Herald* he was equally willing to grace the platform of the Workers Revolutionary Party); or – like Arthur Scargill – they are treated as lepers.

Marxism Today's article on Mick McGahey (September 1986) exemplifies what is in one aspect a deeply sectarian project: the discovery of enemies on the Left, and the undermining of traditional loyalties. Ostensibly a 'close-up', doing honour to McGahey on the occasion of his retirement from the General Council of the TUC, it is exclusively concerned with picking at sores. If you had been interested in healing divisions within the NUM rather than with envenoming them, you might have solicited a piece from Peter Heathfield, the general secretary of the miners' union (at the Brighton tribute to McGahey he called him 'the great teacher' who 'made me what I am'). Or you might have asked for an article from McGahey. Or you might have called in one of the labour historians on your new editorial board – say Willie Thompson – rather than resorting to journalist's gossip.

Such an article might have told us something of McGahey's early formation. Or it might have discussed his role in the 1974 miners' strike when he was treated by the press of the day very much as Arthur Scargill was in 1984-5, the dangerous revolutionary who was out to overthrow a lawfully elected government. ('Give me the chance to go and pick up Mr McGahey and if it turns out to be my last assignment in the army I should die happy', an army commander is recorded as saying at the time.) Or his role as a senior statesman in the NUM – troubleshooter when there were grievances, healer when there was a threat of splits.

Space could have been given to him as a *theorist* of industrial struggle, in particular to his part in framing the strategy of the 1984-5 strike, not only the determination not to be 'constitutionalised' out of existence (eg, opposition to the ballot) but also the belief, notwithstanding the *federal* character of mining trade unionism, that the NUM should act *nationally*: 'There is only one coalfield, the British coalfield'.

Mention might have been made of the power of his oratory. Or of his love of poetry (like Lawrence Daly he is said to be a great reciter). And if you were to speak of him as a family man something might have been said of the fact that his son was among the victimised Scots miners (It no doubt adds to the torment of loyalties that he is also a supporter of the *Morning Star*).

McGahey is a towering figure in the CPGB but also, for those out of sympathy with the party's tradition of industrial work, an uncomfortable one, and it may be indicative of this that *Marxism Today* carried no single piece by him – or for that matter from any other miners' leader – during the 12 long months of the strike. At the Easter 1985 party congress, when McGahey was actually chairperson of the CPGB, his presence was reported in the press as an *embarrassment*, and he contrived to absent himself from the hall when congress debated the strike.

It is only now that your ears prick up, when it seems there is a chance he will make a public break with his colleagues, and confess to the errors of militant ways. He is being used, in short, as a trophy of your 'correctness', a retrospective proof that the miners were badly led.

Your fascination with the internal divisions in the NUM is in singular contrast to your silence about those in the National Coal Board. If you had been really interested in coming to the aid of the miners, you might have pursued the post-strike resignations from the NCB, or the divisions between Hobart House and the government, a matter of public knowlege since October 1985 when McGregor was demoted by the Energy Minister to what was intended as a 'caretaker' role.

You might have followed the example of *Labour Weekly* and carried an interview with Ned Smith, the NCB's former industrial relations officer; or, using the good offices of one of your editorial board, Hywel Francis, with whom he shares membership of Llafur, the Welsh Labour History Society, solicited an article from Philip Weekes, the retiring area **director of the NCB of South Wales, and a notable contrast to those pocket Napoleons who have sprung up on the coalfields elsewhere. Or, in one of those journalistic** coups for which *Marxism Today* is justly celebrated on the Left, persuaded Michael Eaton, the departing conciliation officer of the NCB, to appear in your pages.

If there is to be a free and wide-ranging discussion on the Left – and if *Marxism Today* is to be a forum for it – then the Communist Party cannot claim a privileged immunity from the critical scrutiny which it – or *Marxism Today* – extends to others. Something might have been said of that 'weakness on the ground' to which McGahey referred in his address to the party's 1985 congress, the near-collapse of the party's industrial branches. Or about the weakness of the party on the coalfields – the one part of this country to have ever given the CPGB serious mass support. (In the miners' strike of 1926, CP national membership *doubled*, mostly from an influx of miners: in the 1984-5 strike, in spite of excellent initiatives like the South Wales Campaign for the Defence of the Coal Communities, it contrived actually to lose members).

Criticism and self-criticism would be particularly in order in relation to the aftermath of the strike, when the CPGB seemed to be far more concerned to settle accounts

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the 'hard-line' followers of the *Morning Star* than with building on the enormous public sympathy which then existed for the miners' cause. In the week of the return to work, one of your editors hailed the end of the strike as a defeat for the 'hard left', and *Marxism Today* took the initiative in those post-mortems which, whatever their intention, have had the effect of legitimating recrimination in the coalfields, and demobilising outside support.

As Marxists, you might have been expected to take issue with the personal isolation of the strike, and reminded us – where the rest of the press was mesmerised by Mr Scargill and Mr MacGregor – of some of the formidable forces off-stage, the Central Electricity Generating Board, for instance, whose initiatives in importing foreign coal, and whose determination to pursue the nuclear option, did so much to precipitate – or create the space for – the policy of pit closures; or the division between the 'industry' men and the 'marketing' men within the NCB.

Or, taking a leaf from 'history from below', you might have looked at the ways in which the strike, though nominally directed from above, was shaped by initatives from below, not only in the original spread of the strike (and in Nottinghamshire, in spite of the area leadership opposition to it) but also in, for instance, the formation of the women's support groups, which changed the strike from an industrial dispute into a communal act.

Or you might have inquired into the *unofficial ideology* of the strike, eg, the notion of jobs as the miners' *patrimony*, and of its *conservative* character – the demand for the right to stay put – which were so much at odds with labour movement 'progressivism' whether of communist or social democratic variety.

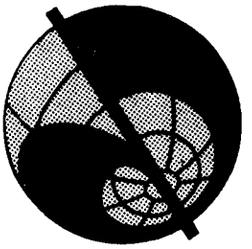
The CPGB may no longer have the power to act as a unifier, but, as can be seen from the schisms in its own ranks, it has a formidable capacity to divide and to act as a symbolic focus of doubt. In the last 18 months it has been visiting on others the discomfort which it feels with itself. Its schisms and expulsions, in the immediate aftermath of the miners' strike, seem to have been paradigmatic of those which are making a graveyard of the Labour Left: if 'town hall socialism' – never a sturdy growth in a party whose attachment to local rights is uncertain – is now thought of not in terms of the defence of public transport, housing starts or the greening of the inner-city, but of Mr Hatton, the CPGB must bear some part of the responsibility.

In the NUM the summit of its ambition seems to be *Schadenfreude* (in English: 'I told you so'). Operating on an inside track it may succeed, where Mr MacGregor failed, in breaking the leaders' loyalty to each other, but the effect is more likely to produce new layers of division than to heal those which already exist.

The spectacle of recantation and confession is seldom an edifying one, least of all when taken under the pressure of party loyalty, and in the present instance it is not clear why it should be of help to the miners' cause. One of the great strengths of the 1984-5 strike was the miners' pride – pride in the NUM, pride in the leadership (a displaced expression of *collective* self-regard), pride in each other, pride in family, pride in coal as the bedrock of national life.

Part of that pride was a belief that the miners were setting an example to others, and that their strike – sustained against the entire might of the state – could serve as a symbolic focus for the defence of jobs and employment. Those who belittle the strike may succeed in sowing doubt, but they will rob the miners of their greatest strength. As a historian of socialist convictions but conservative loyalties, I do not believe you can make a new politics by doing dirt on the past. ●

Raphael Samuel



WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

October issue includes:

Bohuslav Chnoupek (Czechoslovakia).
The Concept of Peace in the Nuclear Age

Haydar Kutlu (Turkey).
Marxism in Action: Creative Quest

Trifon Pashov (Bulgaria).
Reliance on Mass Opinion

James West (USA).
Two Moralities in Confrontation

Sergio Mendez Arceo (Mexico).
'To Be An Anti-Communist Means To Be Anti-Christian'

Single issues 60p (posting extra)
Subscriptions £8.50 for 12 issues (including postage)

Apply to WMR, Central Books
14 The Leathermarket, London SE1 3ER

BADGES
MADE TO ORDER

55 Redchurch Street, London E2
Ring 01 729 0303 for details

JOB VACANT

Full-time advertising executive for Marxism Today.

Advertising provides a crucial source of income for MT.

Our small team of ad staff has a vacancy for someone who has energy, ideas, a sense of humour (in abundance) and a potentially convincing sales manner . . .

You won't be afraid of hard work, or of working in a team.

Salary at present: £6500+

Apply to **Malcolm Clark, Ad Manager, 16 St John St, London EC1M 4AY. Closing date 12th. Please enclose typed c.v.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LEFT IN LOVE

The cheapest heart search in the country.
Entries last for 2 issues. 20p a word.

● **Bad guy** seeks bad guy for bad times. Box 013.

● **Male 40,** Graduate. Attractive, divorced, own home, seeks compatible female 30-40. Photo appreciated but not essential. All replies answered. Wilts, Glos, Avon M4. Box 016.

● **London man,** 30, laidback, easy-going, affectionate, sympathetic, shy, sensitive, vulnerable, seeks genuine woman for love, friendship, mutual emotional support and to heal a shattered ego. Photo appreciated. Box 017.

● **Tyneside,** gay leftie, 25, seeks comrade. Box 018.

● **Uninhabited (!)** bored, punky, male likes films, new music, clubs, non-authoritarian politics seeks meatless Emma Goldman/Siouxsie o.n.o. London. Box 019.

● **Retired bloke,** solvent and under 60, shy, modest and lonely seeks companion for holidays, & c. Genuine. Box 020.

● **Black guy,** under 30, masculine bi-sexual, wants weekend comanion on fun basis. Photo please. Box 021.

● **Slim,** good-looking white guy, 26, seeks stocky good-looking black guys for safe fun/friendship. Box 022.

● **Gay bloke** – into leather and weights – demands attention and service from gay under 25. Non-scene preferred. Initiation a welcome hazard. Write now! No photograph, no consideration given! Box 023.

● **Wonderful woman** seeks great bloke for laughs round London. Into lager and theatre. Box 024.

● **Country and western freak** (male, white, 24) seeks honky-tonk woman. Photo appreciated. Box 025.

● **Young leftie man** wants help resolving being right-on and the joys of hedonism (drugs, sex, rock'n'roll). Box 026.

● **Somewhere,** an attractive, sensible man with independent views awaits an attractive, lonely woman in her late twenties. Tired of clubbing and student friends. Box 027.

● **Get down on it.** 12 inches is a rule. Media gay now free. Box 028.

● **Tender tankie** reads M.T. for light entertainment, seeks similarly sound sylph for straight sessions. I'm under 30. Box 014.

● **Socialist feminist,** 27, into theatre, jazz, travel, music, politics, conversation, films, would like to meet really nice guy with similar interests. Box 029.

● **Dyke** – camp soulgirl-lookin' for action. S. London. Box 030.

● **Attractive** slim young man (25, London). Sensitive, outgoing and imaginative, would like to meet an interesting older woman for good conversation and both sensual and sexual fun. Box 031.

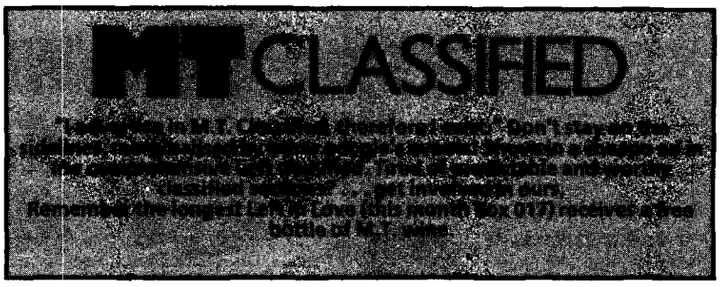
● **Disaffected NS reader,** 39 year old male, seeks scintillating green slanted socialist feminist, late twenties, early thirties; into cultural and outdoor pursuits. N. Midlands, NW. Box 032.

LEFT AT PLAY

For activity of a less activist variety. 20p a word. Entries last for 3 issues.

● The national network of MT readers groups is gearing up. Sorry 'bout delays, Hang on in. Find out the nearest group to you. Box P001.

● **Brixton's Prince of Wales** regulars *Marxism Today* readers group. We dance and sweat every Friday night, 11pm onwards. Box P004.



● **'Hue and Cry'.** The hottest salsa soul Scottish songs. Watch out for new single in December. Fan club. Box P005.

● **Wanted.** Old postcards, Will pay. Box P006.

● **Kent?** Why not join new Readers group? Box P007.

● **Holyhead?** Why not join new Readers group? Box P008.

● **Read about class struggle?** Now play the game. North London Sunday afternoon sessions with highly articulate, working-class crowd. Box P009.

● **Birkenhead?** Why not join new Readers group? Box P010.

LEFT LETTERS

● **The International left network.**

● **Radical** (female, 27) wants pen-friends in Cuba. Box L1.

● **Gay bloke** seeks leftie gay friends in Australia. Box L2.

LEFT AT WORK

● **M.T.'s own Y.T.S.? 20p a word. Entries go in once.**

● **Actress** seeks interesting work; experience of T.V., commercials and theatre. 01-354 4613.

● **Experienced journalist** seeks work for leftie groups. Cheap rates for good, punchy copy. 01-482 1350.

● **Gardening** jobs wanted. S. London. 01-326 5290.

● **Casual work** or removals undertaken anywhere in London. Reasonable rates. Box W1.

ACCOMMODATION

● **Young professional** man moving to London looks for accommodation from mid-October onwards. Phone 061 832 2736.

● **Young woman** – smoker, Scottish – seeks good accommodation. Box A3.

BOOKSELLERS

● **Hammersmith Books** Famous for out-of-print books. Over 100,000 titles from left to right. A worldwide mail order service since 1948. And we buy your old books. 01-876 7254 (24 hrs). Barnes High St, London SW13 9LR.

● **Housmans,** 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1 9DX. Send for list of radical bookshops, mark envelope Federation of Radical Booksellers.

● **Collets International Shop,** 129-131 Charing Cross Rd, London WC2H 0EQ. Tel: 01-734 0782/3.
British books, journals and pamphlets: fiction, languages (incl. EFL), politics, economics, social sciences, labour, trade union and peace movement. Literature, teaching aids, travel, art books, sheet music and records from the USSR and Eastern Europe. Folk records and songbooks. Political posters, badges, cards and T-Shirts.

● **Collets Penguin Bookshop,** 64-66 Charing Cross Rd, London WC2H 0BD. Tel: 01-836 6306. Most Penguins, Pelicans in print. Secondhand section. Social science, reference, travel, cookery books, the best of modern fiction from other publishers.

● **Collets Chinese Bookshop,** 40 Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3PJ. Tel: 01-580 7538.
Books in Chinese and English from and about China. Chinese language aids. Oriental art books. Traditional Chinese embroideries, antiques, prints, jewellery, porcelain and embroideries.

● **Peoples Bookshop, (Newcastle),** 189 Westgate Road, NE4 6AA. For all your progressive reading. Marxism, Labour movement, peace and feminism plus periodicals.

● **Bookmarks,** 265 Seven Sisters Rd, N4. North London's leading socialist bookshop. Two floors of good books and pamphlets.

● **Central Books,** 37 Grays Inn Road, WC1. Large selection of books on Marxism, Feminism, Third World, Industrial Relations, Politics, Fiction. Also a selection of second-hand books, posters, cards, badges and a mail-order service. Tel: 01-242 6166.

● **Books on Socialism** and labour movement. 2nd hand list available for s.a.e. from Northern Herald Books, c/o 6 Edmund St., Bradford 5.

● **Key Books, Birmingham** 25 Essex Street, B5 4TR (corner of Inge Street, behind the Hippodrome). Marxism, Feminism, Peace, Black Studies, Magazines, open Monday-Saturday 10.00-5.30pm.

PUBLISHERS

● **Good Socialists read poetry.** Jackson's Arm publishes it. Send S.A.E. for list to: 179 Wingrove Road, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, NE4 9DA.

● **Socialist Publisher.** Cheap, professional publishing service. Author-financed booklets (poetry, political pamphlets, etc.) to a high quality. Coventry 23128.

PUBLICATIONS

● **Gay Scotland** reflects lesbian, gay and bisexual thought and activity in Britain and overseas. Buy from 'Gays the Word' or other Left Bookshops, or subscribe £5/5 issues: 58A Broughton Street, Edinburgh, EH1 3SA, Sample £1.50.

● **Barrow Alternative Employment Committee** has produced its first report. "Employment and Security – Alternatives to Trident" From Steve Schofield c/o School of Peace Studies, Bradford University, BD7 1DP. Price £3 incl. postage and packing.

● **Christian Statesman** provides a progressive critique of religious and political issues. Published quarterly since 1978 it includes articles on topical questions, information page and book reviews. *Subscription:* £3.50 pa/£6.00 overseas. WRITE TO: Christian Statesman, Vicarage Flat, Carr St, Leigh, Lancs. WN7 4SY.

● **Radical Scotland.** Scotland's top political magazine, bi-monthly. 70p. 36pp. Socialism; radicalism; Home Rule. Annual subscriptions £5.40. From 48 The Pleasance, Edinburgh, EH8 9TJ.

● **Borderlines.** Arts, cultural, political magazine, published in Ontario from an International perspective. For subscription details write to: Borderlines, Bethune College, York University, 4700 Keele Street, North York, Ontario, Canada M3J 1P3.

● **Barclays Shadow Report 1986** mirrors the style of the Barclays Bank annual report but reveals instead the facts about Barclays massive support for apartheid. Copies 75p each plus 25p p&p from ELTSA (End Loans to Southern Africa), PO Box 686, London NW5 2NW.

● **The Militarist "Democracy" in Turkey.** A well-documented study by a collective of Turkish progressives on the political, social, and economic situation in Turkey. Numerous documents on the violation of human rights and Turkey's foreign relations with Europe, the United States, socialist countries and the Third World. 408 pages in big format and illustrations. Info-Türk, 38 rue des Eburons-1040 Brussels-Belgium. £15 post included.

SERVICES

● **Lesbian and Gay** Film, Video, T.V. and Photography network is being set up by Converse Pictures. Phone 01-274 4000 ext 306 or 341. Messages on 01-733 5570. Address: Bon Marche Building, 444 Brixton Road, London, SW9 8EJ. Converse Pictures is financially assisted by Greater London Arts.

● **Buzz Builders** (common ownership company). General building repairs. Free estimates. Evenings. 274 3586.

● **Socialist solicitor** can provide range of legal services at fair rate for his labour. Lloyd Tucker. Nottingham (0602) 256532/297463.

● **"Caprice."** Full range of attractive male escorts and masseurs. 01-727 8322.

HOLIDAYS

● **Inclusive weekend tours** of Co-operative and Labour History in the S. Pennines from £60. List of other tours also available. Full colour A2 Posters of these sites £1.80 inc p&p. Mills and Moors Tours Co-op, Knott Hall, Charlestown, Hebden Bridge, W. Yorks HX7 6PE.

● **Hoy, Orkney Guest House.** On shoreline with own beach. Spectacular scenery & peaceful. Central heating (peat fire in lounge). Reduced rates for children. Open all year round. Telephone 0856-79297.

● **Lower Shaw Farm.** Alternative learning holidays and weekend courses: whole food vegetarian meals. Children welcome. For details of events: s.a.e. Lower Shaw Farm, Shaw, Swindon, Wiltshire, Tel: 0793-771080.

BUSINESS

● **Black Business Association** (Lambeth) offers advice and information on obtaining Venture Capital from public or private sources. We lobby on behalf of Black businesses, arrange training courses and provide marketing expertise. Contact B.B.A.(L), c/o Ultimate Hair Design 435 Brixton Road, London, SW9 8AG.

FOR SALE

● **Black knitted scarves** with white CND symbols £4. 3 for £10. Xmas cards for peace, 8 for £2. 30 for £5. Crackers with peace balloon, badge, hat & motto. 12 in box £4. 6 boxes £15. All inclusive p&p. Ray Newton, 1 East Silvermills Lane, Edinburgh EH3 5BG.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FITNESS

● **Bodybuilding is for everyone.** We offer home courses for all ages and both sexes; including full fitness programmes with exercise diagrams – one, two or three month courses available. Send cheque or postal order for £5, £6 or £7 respectively, plus 50p postage to MRC Fitness Studio Ltd. 83 New Street, Dalry, Ayrshire, KA24 5BY.

THERAPY

● **"Alexander Technique"** – individual lessons, introductory groups. 01-603 3862.

● **Recent crisis or longstanding problem.** Make changes with skilled psychotherapist. Susan King 01-444 9681.

● **Sort it out** with hypnotherapy. 01-837 7807.

● **North-West London Therapy Centre.** Individual + group therapy, Jill Singer, Tel: 01-444 8881, or 01-794 9565. Also Sussex · Lewes 0273 474850.

CYCLES

● **Brixton Cycle . . . Co-op.** Open 6 days a week 10-6. Ritzy end of Coldharbour Lane. new and used cycles, fast repairs. Large range of accessories and special offers. 433 Coldharbour Lane, SW9. 01-733 6055.

● **Mosquito Bikes.** For sales, spares and fast repairs; and very friendly staff. A workers co-operative, no less. Phone 01-249 7915.

REMOVALS

● **Womens moves.** Reliable, friendly, professional moves. Free quotes: 01-733 3519 or 400 8446.

● ***Left Unlimited* in Waltham Forest. Sat 18th October**

A day of discussion & entertainment. Afternoon workshops on Racism and 1) The Labour Movement, 2) Deportations and Immigration laws, 3) Police.
2-5pm Friends House,
Bush Road, E11.
[5 mins, Leyton Central Tube]
Tickets: £1 waged, 50p unwaged.

EVENING: 8pm.
Vukani Theatre & Agodze Dance Group
Leyton Labour Hall,
70 Grange Park Road, E10.
Tickets: £3 waged, £1.50 unwaged.
Information: 01-556 5995 or 509 1229.

● **Left Unlimited Goes Local.** Saturday October 11. 12-45-11.45pm. Victoria Centre, Palk Road, Wellinghborough, Northants. £3/£1 unwaged. Speakers: Martin Jacques, Vishnu Sharma, Sandra Dunkley, Country Standard and many more. An event not to be missed. For programme: 0933 224351/222997.

EXHIBITIONS

● **Spanish Civil War Exhibition.** Oct 13-Nov 7. Brighton Polytechnic, Grand Parade. Film Evening Oct 16. Day School Nov 8. Details: 0273 604141 x245.

CONFERENCES

● **Scottish Socialist Economic Review Conference.** Saturday 18th October, Netherbow Centre, Edinburgh, 9.30-6pm. Debate on the future of the Alternative Economic Strategy (features Bea Campbell, David Cobham, John Eatwell, Lawrence Harris), papers on privatisation, Soviet economic reform, &c. Details from 031-667 6158 or 0334 75092 (evenings).

MESSAGES

● **Gay Scotland** calls for sacking of John MacKay.

● **Sack** Scottish Health minister.

● **S.H.R.G, says** McKay's views on AIDS are attack on gay community.

● **Congratulations** to Wendy Savage.

● **i-D, The Face, Vogue** . . . Marxism Today beats the lot.

● **Yes, New Socialist quoted a misquote.** Ad staff don't think the "left is dead".

MISCELLANEOUS

● **Left wing pamphlets** and periodicals bought for cash. Also interested in buying libraries of left wing material. Ring 01-439 2059.

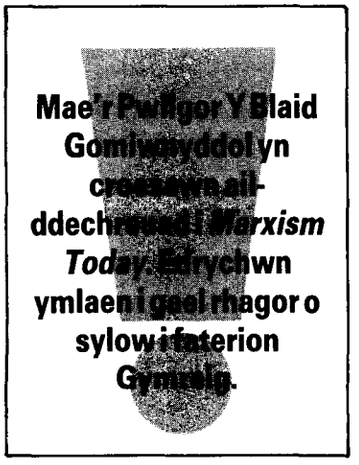
CLASSIFIED RATES

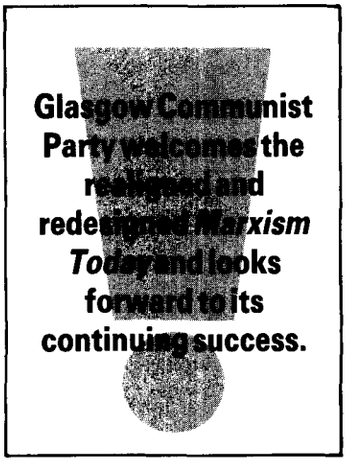
• Lineage: 40p per word, except where otherwise stated.
• Semi-display: £6 per column centimetre
Add 15% VAT to all total prices.
Deadline for copy: 10th of October.
Further Enquiries and late copy: telephone Malcolm 01-608 0265.
Send copy, with payment and stating section, to: **MT Classifieds, 16 St John St, London EC1M 4AY**
Box Number entries and replies are strictly confidential. Mark entries 'Left in Love' or 'Left at Play', and replies with the appropriate Box No. on the envelope.

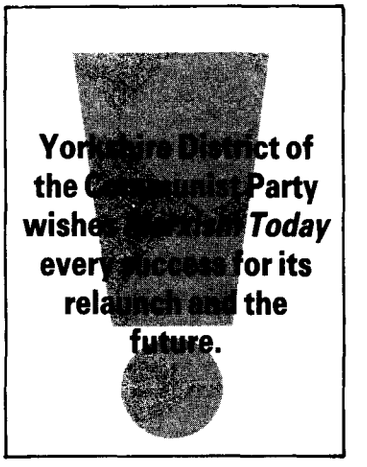
YOUNG PEOPLES Brum UNLIMITED

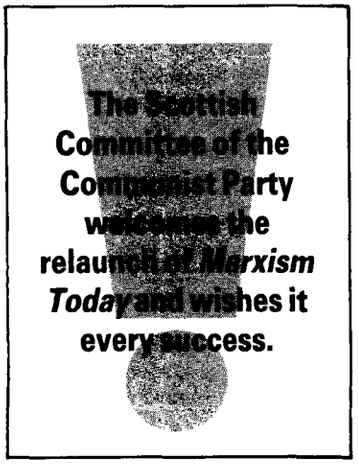
Evening concert organised with Artists Against Apartheid.
Tickets for the day: £2.50
£1.50 (unwaged)
with special reduction for under 16s.
NOT TO BE MISSED Saturday 18 October 1986 at the Triangle Arts Centre.

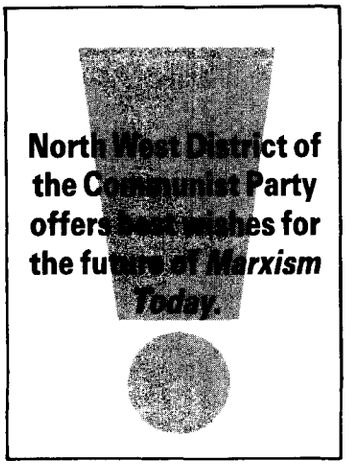
BRUM UNLIMITED, Birmingham's biggest and best political and cultural festival. This one day event includes workshops on politics, culture, music and theatre; practical advice sessions, an all-day fashion show, video festival and bookfair. Major debates on South Africa, Education and the Future of Britain.

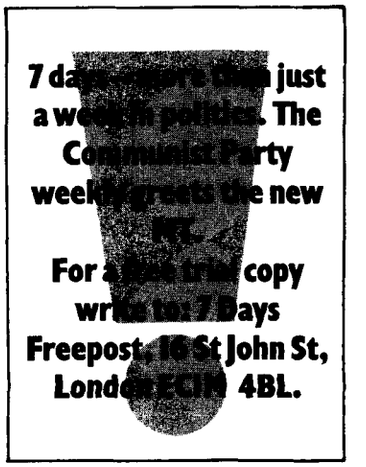












PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Norman Tebbit

Pressed in a *Spectator* interview on his recent disagreements with colleagues, Norman Tebbit assured John Mortimer that 'I'm in favour of everything which our government has concluded it's in favour of'. The remark is telling: it reflects Tebbit's position as the very emblem of the Thatcher revolution, not least within the Conservative Party; but it also contains more than a hint of the distance that has opened up between him and his leader in the post-revolutionary era.

Norman Tebbit was born in 1931, and must therefore have been very small indeed when his father mounted his famous bike, to peddle off round the building sites of north London seeking work. The experience of seeing a former shop manager reduced to casual labour clearly taught young Tebbit the virtues of determination in adversity: it must also, surely, account for the older Tebbit's obsession with the virtues of social mobility in the opposite direction.

Following national service, he went into advertising for a short period, before beginning a 17-year stint as an airline pilot (and, indeed, union militant, though always a Tory one). In 1970, Tebbit won Epping, and served for a short period as a parliamentary private secretary in the Heath government. In opposition after 1974, it must have given him particular pleasure to take on the job of information director for the National Federation of Building Employers.

Following Heath's eclipse, Tebbit's political stock began to rise. He became associated with the newly-emergent free market wing of the Conservative Party, and was one of the 'Gang of Four' of Tory Turks who briefed Margaret Thatcher for her assaults on the craven collectivism of the Callaghan government at Commons question time. And after the Tory election victory in 1979, Tebbit rose quickly from Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State (at Trade), via Minister of State (at Industry) to become Secretary of State for Employment, from which position he advocated privatisation, argued against wage and price controls, and introduced legislation to undermine the closed shop.

During this period, too, he developed some notoriety for his political style, being dubbed 'a semi-house-trained polecat' (by Michael Foot), and (by the world) as 'the Chingford skinhead'. There is no evidence that these soubriquets gave him anything but pleasure (or, indeed, that the response to his notorious injunction to the unemployed to emulate his father caused him any particular pain). When asked about his hobbies in a *Guardian* interview, indeed, Tebbit was heartily amused when a civil servant answered for him: 'What do you think? He bites the heads off chickens'.

It was thus as a representative of the driest of economic liberals that Tebbit made his reputation, and began to be talked of (along with Michael Heseltine) as a possible leadership candidate. But if, during the first term, Tebbit was the most consistent advocate of pure Thatcherite economics (and example of its declassed, pugnaciously entrepreneurial manner), then he was among the first to signal the shift towards the social concerns that have dominated the public face of Thatcherism Mark II.

Well before his appointment as Tory chairman in September last year (and, indeed, before the Brighton hotel bomb which severely injured him and disabled his wife), Tebbit had been pointing to 'a general lack of discipline in society'. By the time of his Disraeli lecture last November, he had developed his critique of permissiveness into a fully-fledged historical theorem, which held that an establishment softened by 'postwar funk' had allowed Roy Jenkins' much-vaunted 'civilised society' to mutate into the violent society of today, the logical and indeed predictable outcome of a society in which traditional standards in education and personal behaviour – and restraints in public expression – were derided and scorned.

Larding his rhetoric with apocalyptic phraseology ('poisoned legacies', 'winds reaping whirlwinds'), Tebbit has returned to this theme again and again, citing both 'tolerance of sexual deviancy' and the rise in illegitimate births as further harbingers of doom, and alleging that 'drug peddling and addiction did not start in the inner cities. It started in the sloppy Hampstead suburbs and spread down there'.

Not surprisingly, Tebbit's anti-libertarianism has provoked a response from that dwindling band of 'pure' free marketeers – now mostly gathered in the Adam Smith Institute and the Federation of Conservative Students – who believe that the free market in things implies a parallel free market in forms of behaviour, expression and ideas. Following his Disraeli speech, he was taken to task on Channel Four's *Diverse Reports* for departing from the true Conservative faith: but despite his assertion that he saw himself as a social as well as an economic libertarian, Tebbit himself clearly detects no particular contradiction between his support for a loosening of restrictions on capitalist expropriation, while social and sexual restraints are tightened.

In the famous reports of the cabinet's 'Family Policy Group' (leaked to *The Guardian* in February 1983), indeed, Tebbit advocated both the removal of regulatory burden on small firms, *and* government action to encourage mothers to stay at home; in the same month he was admitting to the same newspaper (despite what he told *Diverse*) that 'on social issues, I suppose I am to some extent a paternalist'.

The truth is of course that Tebbit still represents and articulates what he regards as the thinking of 'the man in the pub, or on the top of the bus', the sort of 'average bloke' who, like himself, sees no conflict between his economic beliefs and his social prejudices. That the latter embrace both dislike of City financiers and distrust of the Americans helps to explain Tebbit's hostility to the selling off of Jaguar, his suspicion of the Sikorski-Westland deal, and his hardly even lukewarm support for the US bombing of Libya.

Indeed, his fall from the position of heir apparent may have less to do with his sardonically aggressive (and, some now claim, embittered) style, than with the class from which he springs. For if Thatcherism Mark I had pretensions to back the small businessmen, to keep small shopkeepers behind their counters and off their bikes, then Thatcherism Mark II has been all about encouraging international finance capitalism to seek where it may devour, whatever the consequences may be for the class whose attitudes and interests Norman Tebbit has so sedulously represented and sought to protect.●

David Edgar

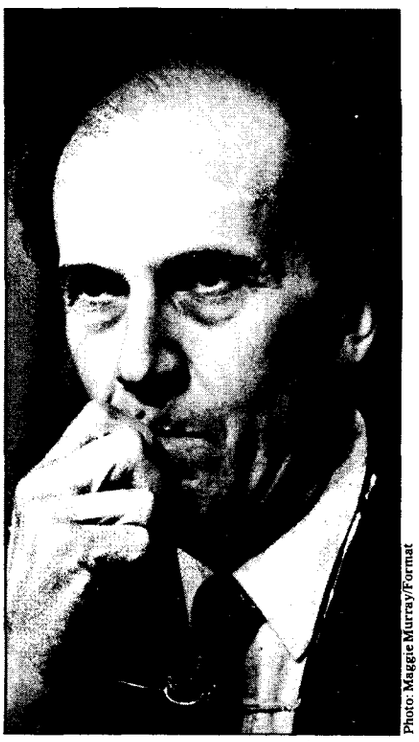


Photo: Maggie Murray/Format

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AIR & FERRY TICKETS ISSUED IMMEDIATELY ALL

TRAVEL in 86

We offer computerised booking for all skiing, cruise and package holidays; and all air and ferry tickets. Travel at short notice and we can offer ultra-bargains on unsold seats.

Regular one-week and weekend holidays in Moscow and Leningrad, Budapest and Prague from £195 inc. Wide range of other Western European city visits – from Paris £79 by air to only £55 for coach weekends.

NICARAGUA

1986 Programme includes 17-day study tours from £798. In association with Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign and "New Socialist". Departures end of October and November.
Take part in the coffee-picking brigades! Six weeks periods between December and early March. All tours fully inclusive, with guides.

CUBA

1986 programme of study and holiday tours available. Group tours including Spanish language studies for any party of 10 or more and individual tours providing initial hotel booking in Havana, plus free range internal travel or car hire can be arranged at any time. Individual tours can be arranged at any time. New charter-based tours planned to commence in November; Plus special Havana Film Festival visit from 1st to 7th December.

Year-round programme of one and three-month courses in the USSR. 1 month in Nov/Dec at Moscow and from 20th December to 10th January. New course is planned at Leningrad University for January and February 1987. Our 1987 programme of courses in spring, summer and autumn will shortly be available.
USSR Regional Studies. A new programme of 1-month courses is in preparation designed to combine Soviet studies in politics, economics and sociology with an optional Russian language content.

SOVIET
October
teachers
Moscow
returning
celebrations
November
Revolution
3-day excursions

MARATHON
A programme
projected

TRANS-SIBERIAN
Independent
Youth Travel
routes to
continuing to
Beijing. Plus
China returning

Progressive Tours Ltd

12 Porchester
London W2
Telephone

YOUR & STUDENT TRAVEL AGENTS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IF IT'S ON IT'S IN

THE WHO WHAT WHY WHEN WHERE OF LONDON

OUT *weds.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED